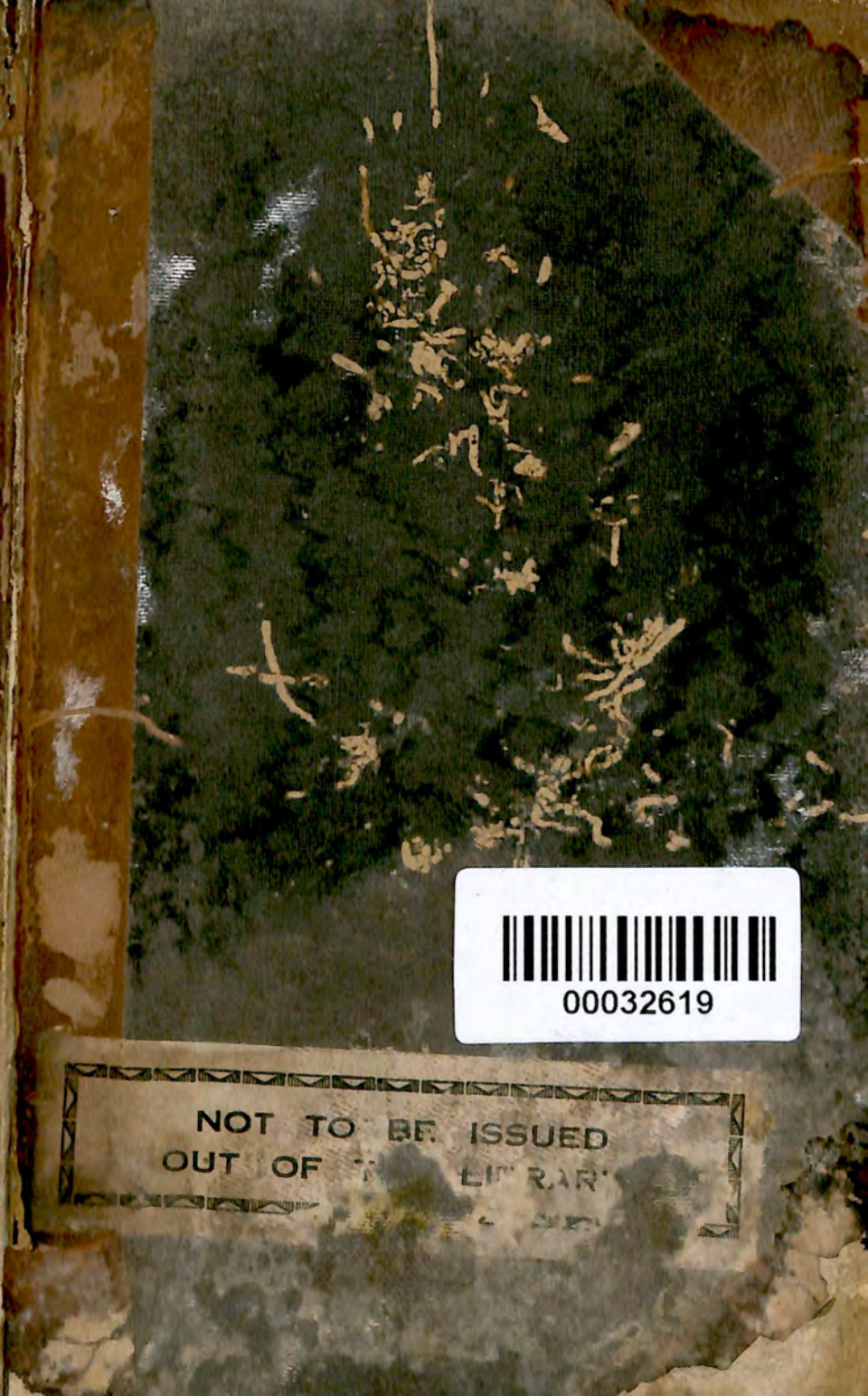
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THE

HISTORY

OF

GREAT BRITAIN,

FROM THE

FIRST INVASION OF IT BY THE ROMANS

UNDER JULIUS CÆSAR.

WRITTEN ON A NEW PLAN.

By ROBERT HENRY, D.D.

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CONTENTS.

OF THE

SEVENTH VOLUME.

BOOK IV.

CHAP. I.

The Civil and Military Hiſtory of Great Britain, from the death of king John, A. D. 1216, to the acceſſion of Henry IV. A. D. 1399.

Sect. 1. From the death of king John, A. D. 1216, to the death of Henry III. A. D. 1272 1

Sect. 2. From the death of Henry III. A. D. 1272, to the death of Edward I. A. D. 1307 - 65

Sect. 3. From the acceſſion of Edward II. A. D. 1307, to the acceſſion of Edward III. A. D. 1327 - 122

Sect. 4. From the acceſſion of Edward III. 24th January A. D. 1327, to the acceſſion of Richard II. 21ſt June A. D. 1377 - - 179

Sect. 5. From the acceſſion of Richard II. June 21, A. D. 1377, to the acceſſion of Henry IV. September 30, A. D. 1399 - - 297

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BOOK IV.

CHAP. I.

The civil and military hiſtory of Great Britain, from the death of king John, A. D. 1216, to the acceſſion of Henry IV. A. D. 1399.

SECTION I.

From the death of king John, A. D. 1216, to the death of Henry III. A. D. 1272.

THE death of king John was very ſeaſonable, and ſaved both his family and his country from the ruin with which they were threatened, by the confederacy of the revolted barons of England with prince Lewis of France. A.D. 1216. Death of king John ſeaſonable.

A.D.1216. Coronation of Henry III.

William, marſhal of England, and earl of Pembroke, the chief ſupport and ornament of the royal cauſe, conducted young Henry, eldeſt ſon of the late king, to Glouceſter, where he had called a meeting of the nobles; and placing the infant prince (then only in his tenth year) in the midſt of the aſſembly, he addreſſed them in a ſpeech, at once ſo full of wiſdom, loyalty, and patriotiſm, that it gained every heart. All the barons and clergy who were preſent, acknowledged Henry for their lawful king, and proceeded to his coronation on the 28th of October [1]. In another aſſembly of the barons, at Briſtol, on the 11th of November, the earl of Pembroke was unanimouſly choſen protector of the kingdom; a truſt which he had well deſerved, and which he diſcharged with the greateſt honour, wiſdom, and ſucceſs [2].

Earl of Pembroke appointed protector.

Popular meaſures of the protector.

One of the firſt acts of the protector's adminiſtration was to renew the great charter of liberties, the darling object on which the Engliſh had ſet their hearts; a wiſe meaſure which brought great popularity to the royal cauſe [3]. At the ſame time he wrote letters to all the diſcontented barons, earneſtly intreating them to ſubmit to the government of young Henry, againſt whom they could have no complaint, ſolemnly promiſing them indemnity for all paſt offences, and all poſ-

[1] M. Paris, p. 200. Heming. l. 3. c. 1.
[2] M. Paris, p. 200. Chron. Petriburgen. Trivit. p. 168.
[3] Blackſtone's Introduction to the great charter, p. 43.

ſible ſecurity for the future enjoyment of their liberties, honours, and eſtates [4]. Theſe letters produced a great effect. Several powerful barons, as the earls of Saliſbury, Arundel, and Warrenne, with the protector's eldeſt ſon, deſerted Lewis, and came over to Henry; and many others waited only for a convenient opportunity to follow their example [5]. A.D. 1216.

While theſe things were doing in the cabinet, the war was going on in the field with various ſucceſs; but without any deciſive action. Lewis failed in all his attempts upon Dover, through the incorruptible fidelity and invincible reſolution of Hubert de Burgh, its heroic governor [6]. In the beginning of the year 1217, Lewis received a conſiderable reinforcement from France, which, together with the citizens of London (who ſtill warmly eſpouſed his cauſe againſt their native prince), enabled him for ſome time to maintain the diſpute. At length, on the 19th May A. D. 1217, a deciſive battle was fought in the ſtreets of Lincoln, in which the army of prince Lewis was entirely defeated, the earl of Perche, its commander in chief, was killed, and many of the Engliſh barons of that party were taken priſoners [7]. On the news of this defeat, prince Lewis, who was then beſieging Dover, haſtened to London; but ſome reinforcements which he expected being A.D. 1217. Military tranſactions. Peace between Henry and Prince Lewis.

4 Rymer, vol. 1. p. 215, 216. Brady, Append. N° 143.
5 M. Paris, p. 202. 6 Id. p. 200.
7 Id. p. 204. Chron. Dunſt. p. 81.

A.D.1217. deſtroyed by the Engliſh fleet, and the royal army approaching, he entered into a negotiation with the protector, which ſoon terminated in a peace [8]. By this peace, Lewis, having ſtipulated for a full indemnity to the Engliſh of his party, renounced his pretenſions to the crown of England; and ſoon after departed with all his forces into France. In this manner, by the courage, wiſdom, and moderation of the protector, the flames of a deſtructive civil war were happily extinguiſhed, and young Henry was ſeated in peace on the throne of his anceſtors.

Death of the protector, and ſucceſſion of Peter de Roches and Hubert de Burgh.

After the departure of the French, the protector faithfully performed every article of the treaty with the Engliſh barons, by putting them in full poſſeſſion of their eſtates and honours [9]. He ſent itinerant judges into all parts of the kingdom, to ſee that the great charter, and the charter of the foreſts, were fully executed. In a word, he omitted nothing that might contribute to the true honour of his royal maſter, and to the peace and
A.D.1219. proſperity of his country. But while this great and good man was thus nobly employed, he was carried off by death about the middle of March A. D. 1219, to the unſpeakable loſs both of the king and kingdom. He was ſucceeded in the regency by Peter de Roches biſhop of Wincheſter, a Poictiven, and Hubert de Burgh, high juſticiary [10].

[8] Rymer, vol. 1. p. 221. M. Paris, p. 210.

[9] M. Paris, p. 210. Annal. Waverlien. p. 184.

[10] Chron. T. Wikes, p. 39. M. Paris, p. 210.

One,

One of the worſt conſequences of the late civil wars was, that they greatly increaſed the lawleſs licentious ſpirit of many of the great barons, who were little better than great robbers; and the mutinous diſpoſition of the citizens of London, who were ſtill very much diſaffected to the preſent government. The new regents employed the three firſt years of their adminiſtration in reducing the earl of Albemarle, and ſome other turbulent barons, to order, and in quelling and puniſhing ſome dangerous mutinies of the Londoners. In doing this they exerciſed ſome acts of power and ſeverity, by which they gave great offence; particularly, by commanding one Conſtantine, an audacious incendiary, and ſome other ringleaders of the London mob, to be hanged without a formal trial [11]. A.D. 1219. Conduct of the new regents.

Hubert de Burgh, who had the chief direction of affairs, thought it would diminiſh the general odium which his great power, and the ſpirited exertion of it, had drawn upon him, to have the king, who was now in his ſixteenth year, declared of age. He therefore obtained a bull from the pope (who was ſtill conſidered as ſuperior lord of the kingdom), declaring Henry of age, and commanding all the barons to deliver up the royal caſtles, which they held, into the king's hands [12]. A.D. 1223. Henry declared of age.

The high juſticiary ſet an example of obedience to this bull, by giving up the tower of London, Refractory barons reduced.

[11] M. Paris, p. 214. 218. Chron. Dunſt. p. 129. Annal. Waverlien. p. 187. [12] M. Paris, p. 220. Trivit. p. 174.

A.D.1223. and Dover caſtle, two royal fortreſſes, which had been committed to his cuſtody during the king's minority. But this was an example which many of the barons did not incline to follow. The earls of Cheſter and Albemarle, and ſeveral others, refuſed to give up the royal caſtles which were in their cuſtody, raiſed forces to ſupport their refuſal, and the nation was threatened with another civil war; which was happily prevented by the interpoſition of the archbiſhop of Canterbury, who, by threatening the refractory barons with excommunication, brought them to ſubmit [13].

A.D.1224. War with France concluded by a truce. Some events had lately happened in France, which engaged the attention of Henry and his miniſters, particularly the death of Philip Auguſtus, and the ſucceſſion of his ſon Lewis. That prince had engaged, by a ſecret article in the treaty which he made with Henry at his departure out of England (as ſome of our hiſtorians affirm), to reſtore Normandy at his acceſſion to the crown of France [14]. Ambaſſadors were ſent to demand the performance of this article; but Lewis was ſo far from complying with this demand, that he raiſed an army, with which he fell into the province of Poictou, which ſtill belonged to England, took ſeveral places of ſtrength, and at laſt the city of Rochelle, the capital of the province [15]. On the news of theſe loſſes, Henry called a parliament at Weſtminſter, from which he requeſted an

[13] M. Paris, p. 221. Chron. Dunſt. p. 138.
[14] M. Paris, p. 207. [15] Rymer, vol. 1, p. 269.

aid

aid to enable him to put a ſtop to the progreſs of the French arms, which threatened the total expulſion of the Engliſh from the continent. The parliament at firſt ſhewed no great diſpoſition to comply with this requeſt; but upon the king's conſenting to confirm the charters of their liberties, they granted him a fifteenth of all the moveables both of the clergy and laity [16]. With this money the king raiſed a conſiderable army, which he ſent into France, under the command of his brother prince Richard earl of Poictou and Cornwall, and the earl of Saliſbury. Theſe generals having landed with an army at Bourdeaux, A. D. 1225, recovered ſome places, and, in A. D. 1227, brought the king of France to conſent to a truce for three years [17]. By this means peace was reſtored both at home and abroad. A.D.1224.

Henry, in a parliament held at Oxford in February A. D. 1227, was declared of full age for government, and the regent, Hubert de Burgh, diveſted of his office; but ſtill retaining the favour of the king, he was made earl of Kent [18]. A.D.1227. Henry aſſumes the government.

A violent quarrel broke out this year between king Henry and his brother Richard earl of Cornwall. Richard had ſeized a manor belonging to one Walleran, affirming it belonged to his earldom of Cornwall; and when the king commanded him to reſtore it to its former owner, he refuſed to obey; and forming a confederacy with ſeveral great A.D.1228. Quarrel between Henry and his brother prince Richard.

[16] M. Paris, p. 223. Rymer, vol. 1. p. 277.
[17] Rymer, vol. 1. p. 294. 295. [18] M. Paris, p. 232.

A.D.1228. barons, raiſed a powerful army. The king being quite unprepared to reſiſt ſo great a force, and knowing his brother's covetous diſpoſition, entered into a negotiation with him, and gained him over by a grant of lands of much greater value than thoſe in queſtion. The confederates being thus deprived of their head, were obliged to diſmiſs their forces, and remain quiet [19].

A.D.1229. Expedition to the continent.

Lewis VIII. of France, after a very ſhort reign, was now dead; and having been ſucceeded by an infant ſon, that kingdom became a ſcene of great confuſion, and preſented Henry with a favourable opportunity of recovering his French dominions. The Normans even importuned him to come over with an army, and promiſed to receive him with open arms [20]. But Henry being engaged in trifling diſputes with his Engliſh ſubjects, neglected this favourable opportunity. At length, however, when the troubles in France were compoſed, and queen Blench eſtabliſhed in the regency, Henry, very unſeaſonably reſolved to make a vigorous attempt for the recovery of theſe dominions. But this attempt was as ill conducted as it was ill timed. In the year 1229, Henry ſummoned all his military tenants, both in England and Ireland, to attend him at Portſmouth on Michaelmas day, in order to embark for France. In conſequence of this ſummons, a very numerous and gallant army appeared at the time and place appointed; but ſuch was the negligence or treachery of Henry's miniſters, that ſufficient

[19] M. Paris, p. 233. [20] Id. p. 243.

numbers

numbers of ſhips were not provided for their tranſportation. This occaſioned the expedition to be delayed. Henry having ſpent the winter in raiſing money by very illegal and oppreſſive methods, reaſſembled his army in the ſpring, and on the laſt day of April A. D. 1230, he embarked for France, and in a few days arrived at St. Malo's. The arrival of the Engliſh army revived the ſpirits of the malecontents in France; the duke of Britanny joined the Engliſh, with all his forces; and every thing wore a promiſing aſpect. But all theſe blooming hopes were blaſted by the miſconduct of Henry, who ſpent the whole campaign without any action of moment, in a continued courſe of expenſive pleaſures; ſo that many of the poorer knights were obliged to ſell their horſes and arms to defray their expences. About the end of October, Henry returned to England, covered with diſgrace [21]. A.D. 1229.

Fall of Hubert de Burgh.

The hiſtory of England for ſome years after this, conſiſts of little elſe, but ſome court-intrigues, and violent conteſts for power, between the biſhop of Wincheſter and the high juſticiary. The late miſcarriages abroad had rendered the miniſtry of Hubert de Burgh exceedingly odious, both to the nobility and common people. The king, who was naturally fickle, being teaſed with continual complaints againſt his miniſter, began to withdraw his affection from him; which being obſerved by his enemies, they redoubled their A.D. 1232.

[21] M. Paris, p. 249, 251, 252. Annal. Waverlien. p. 192.

clamours

A.D.1232. clamours againſt him, and at laſt wrought his downfall [22]. Hubert was removed from his place of high juſticiary, though it had been granted him for life; and he was commanded to give an account of the diſpoſal of the revenues of the crown during his adminiſtration. The fallen miniſter, perceiving his ruin was reſolved upon, and even his life in danger, took ſanctuary in the priory of Merton; from whence the king commanded the mayor of London to bring him either dead or alive. The mayor and citizens of London, to whom Hubert had always been peculiarly odious, were preparing to execute theſe orders with great pleaſure, and had aſſembled to the number of twenty thouſand for that purpoſe; when ſome of the moſt prudent barons repreſenting to the king the danger of ſuch tumultuary proceedings, and of committing the execution of juſtice to an enraged mob, he recalled his orders. Hubert, ſome time after, having privately left his ſanctuary to viſit his wife, who was ſiſter to the king of Scots, was diſcovered and purſued by ſome ſoldiers into a ſmall church; from whence they dragged him; and having loaded him with inſults and indignities, carried him to the tower of London. But the church interpoſing, obliged the king to return him to his ſanctuary; where he was ſo ſtrictly guarded, to prevent his eſcaping, or receiving any victuals, that he ſurrendered himſelf, and was once more lodged in the tower [23].

[22] M. Paris, p. 376. [23] Id. p. 258—261.

When

When he was every moment expecting the worſt effects of the malice of his enemies, the king's reſentment began to cool, and he poſitively refuſed to conſent to the death of a man who had adhered ſo ſteadily to his father and himſelf in their adverſity. Hubert, after many various turns of fortune, at laſt recovered ſome degree of the king's favour; but wiſely abſtained from all concern in the adminiſtration of public affairs [24]. A.D.1232.

Whatever were the faults of the late miniſter, the nation reaped no advantage from his fall. He was ſucceeded by his great rival and enemy Peter de Roches, biſhop of Wincheſter, a man of a very bold and enterpriſing ſpirit. This miniſter invited over many of his own countrymen from Poictou, on whom, by his perſuaſion, Henry beſtowed all offices of honour and profit, procured them the richeſt heireſſes in marriage, and gave them the wardſhip of the richeſt of the royal wards [25]. Theſe foreigners, elated by proſperity and court-favour, treated the Engliſh nobility with contempt. But the great barons were not of a temper to bear ſuch treatment with patience: a number of them, with the earl of Pembroke at their head, boldly remonſtrated to the king againſt this preference given to foreigners before his own nobility. To this remonſtrance the biſhop of Wincheſter, in the king's name, returned a haughty anſwer; with which the barons were ſo A.D.1233. Diſcontents of the great barons.

[24] Chron. T. Wikes, p. 41, 42. Chron. Dunſt. p. 220.
[25] Chron. Dunſt. p. 151. M. Paris, p. 258.

much

A.D 1233. much provoked, that they withdrew from court. The king ſoon after ſummoning a parliament to meet at Oxford 24th June, A. D. 1233, the barons by concert refuſed to attend. Nor did they pay any greater regard to a ſecond ſummons, to meet July 11, at Weſtminſter. They even went ſo far as to ſend the king a meſſage, that if he did not immediately diſmiſs the biſhop of Wincheſter and the Poictivens from court, they would drive both him and them out of the kingdom, and place the crown on a worthier head [26]. This daring language greatly alarmed the king and his miniſter; who, plainly ſeeing that the barons were formidable while they were united, laid a ſcheme to divide them; in which they were ſucceſsful. Richard earl of Cornwall, the king's brother, together with the earls of Cheſter and Lincoln, being gained by the court, ſo many deſerted the confederacy, that the earl of Pembroke was almoſt left alone, to bear the weight of the royal indignation. That valiant nobleman, after defending himſelf very bravely for ſome time in England, was decoyed into Ireland, by a contrivance of the biſhop of Wincheſter, and there baſely betrayed and murdered [27]. Thus did that bold and cunning miniſter diſſipate this formidable confederacy, and triumph over his enemies, by the moſt wicked arts.

[26] M. Paris, p. 265. Annal. Waverlien. p. 195.

[27] Id. p. 263, 264, 265, &c. Chron. Dunſt. p. 219.

But

But this triumph of the biſhop of Wincheſter was but of ſhort duration. Edmund archbiſhop of Canterbury repreſented to the king, in ſuch ſtrong and lively terms, the great injury which he did to himſelf and his ſubjects, by placing ſuch unbounded confidence in ſo hated a miniſter, and loading ſtrangers with ſuch unmerited honours, that Henry's eyes were opened; the biſhop of Wincheſter was commanded to retire to his dioceſe; the Poictivens were turned out of all their places; which were filled by Engliſhmen. The primate, by whoſe influence this change was brought about, had a great ſway in the new adminiſtration; from which the people entertained the moſt ſanguine hopes [28].

A.D. 1234. Diſgrace of Peter de Rocheſter, biſhop of Wincheſter.

King Henry, who was now in his twenty-ninth year, had been as unfortunate in love as in war, having paid his addreſſes to ſeveral ladies without ſucceſs. At laſt, however, in the beginning of the year 1236, he was married to Eleanora, ſecond daughter to the count of Provence; which marriage ſoon became the occaſion of new diſquiets [29]. The queen was followed into England by many of her relations and countrymen, who became great favourites with Henry, who on all occaſions diſcovered an extravagant fondneſs for ſtrangers. William of Savoy, biſhop of Valence, the queen's maternal uncle, became prime miniſter, and had the chief direction of all affairs [30]. Peter de Savoy

A.D. 1236. Henry's marriage, and its conſequences.

[28] M. Paris, p. 271, 272.
[29] Heming. p. 573. M. Paris, p. 276. Rymer, tom. 1. p 448.
[30] M. Paris, p. 296, &c. M. Weſt. p. 338.

was

A.D.1236. was made earl of Richmond, and Boniface de Savoy was raiſed to the ſee of Canterbury, and almoſt all other places of power and truſt were again filled by foreigners. Theſe proceedings did not fail to revive the diſcontents of the Engliſh barons; and the hiſtory of England for ſome years after the king's marriage conſiſts chiefly of the remonſtrances of the Engliſh nobility againſt the foreign favourites, and their attempts to remove them from the king's preſence and councils, and the arts of theſe favourites to maintain their ground. Whenever Henry was hard preſſed and threatened, or ſtood in need of money from his parliament, he made the moſt ſolemn promiſes to diſmiſs all foreigners, and to govern only by the advice of his barons: but as ſoon as the danger was over, and his wants ſupplied, he wantonly violated all his promiſes [31].

A.D.1238. Simon de Montfort marries the king's ſiſter. Amongſt other foreigners who at this time crowded the court of England, was Simon de Montfort, ſecond ſon of the famous earl of Montfort, general of the croiſade againſt the Albigenſes. This young nobleman enjoyed ſo great a degree of Henry's favour, that he ventured to pay his addreſſes to his ſiſter Eleanora, counteſs dowager of Pembroke, whom he married with the king's conſent, and was created earl of Leiceſter February 2, A.D. 1239: for which great favours this nobleman did not make a very grateful return, as will appear from the ſequel of this hiſtory [32].

A.D.1240. &c. Expedition to the continent. The perſon and government of Henry were now become exceedingly unpopular, by his incorrigible

[31] M. Paris, p. 304. col. 2. [32] Id. 314.

attach-

attachment to foreigners,—his violation of the moſt ſolemn promiſes,—his many illegal and arbitrary exactions of money,—and the aſſiſtance which he gave to the papal legates in the like exactions;—by all which the kingdom was oppreſſed and fleeced in the moſt intolerable manner. While Henry was on ſuch ill terms with his ſubjects at home, he very imprudently entered upon a foreign expedition. Iſabella, the queen-mother of England, ſoon after the death of king John, married the earl of Marche, to whom ſhe had been betrothed in her youth. The eſtates of that earl lay in that part of Poictou which was ſubject to France; and Lewis IX. having beſtowed that country on his brother Alphonſo, to him he commanded the barons of theſe parts to pay homage. Queen Iſabella perſuaded her huſband to refuſe this homage as below his dignity, to ſhake off his allegiance to France, and call in her ſon the king of England to his protection. Henry accepted the invitation, and raiſed an army, with which he invaded France A. D. 1242. But this expedition was neither better conducted, nor more ſucceſsful, than his former one into that country. Lewis ſoon reduced that part of Poictou which belonged to England, and obliged the earl of Marche to implore his mercy; and if that good king had not been reſtrained by ſcruples of conſcience, he would have deprived Henry of his few remaining dominions on the continent[33]. The king of Eng- A.D. 1240.

[33] M. Paris, p. 392, 393, &c. M. Weſt. p. 306. Chron. Dunſt. p. 153.

land,

A.D.1240. land, after buying a truce of five years with France, and expending an immenſe ſum of money in this diſgraceful expedition, returned to England in September A. D. 1243; and in order to conceal his ſhame, he commanded all his military tenants to meet him at Portſmouth, and conduct him to London, in great pomp, as if he had returned victorious [34].

A.D.1244. A parliament. A government at once ſo weak and ſo profuſe, could not fail to become daily more and more odious and contemptible. The king, whoſe prodigality rendered him always indigent, ſoon after his return ſummoned a parliament to ſupply his wants. The parliament, far from granting his requeſt, being now fully convinced of his incapacity for government, formed a ſcheme to deprive him of the adminiſtration, and commit it to four great barons choſen by themſelves: but by ſuddenly diſſolving the parliament, he prevented the execution of that ſcheme [35].

A.D.1247. Arrival of the king's uterine brothers. Still further to increaſe the miſeries of the kingdom, and to render the king and his government, if poſſible, more odious, a new company of foreigners arrived A. D. 1247 [36]. Theſe were three of the king's uterine brothers, ſons of the earl of Marche and queen Iſabella, who was now dead. Theſe young noblemen, at their arrival, were extremely indigent. Henry received them with great kindneſs; and, without conſidering either his own

[34] M. Paris, p. 409. Chron. T. Wikes, p. 45.
[35] M. Paris, p. 432. [36] Id. p. 491. 495.

circum-

circumſtances, or the diſcontents of his ſubjects, A.D.1247.
made haſte to load them with wealth and honours [37]. This continual profuſion had now brought Henry into ſuch ſtraits, that, to pay ſome part of his debts, he was obliged to ſell his jewels; which were purchaſed by the citizens of London [38]. He had broke his faith ſo frequently to his parliaments, that it was now become cuſtomary with theſe great aſſemblies to anſwer all his demands of money with cutting reproaches for the violation of his promiſes, his profuſion to foreigners, and his other acts of maleadminiſtration. This obliged Henry to have recourſe to many illegal and oppreſſive methods of raiſing money to ſupply his wants. In order to furniſh a plauſible pretence for theſe exactions, he aſſumed the ſign of the croſs in the year 1250, and declared his reſolution to go in perſon into Paleſtine, at the head of an army, for the recovery of the Holy Land [39]. To defray the expences of this expedition, he extorted money from the Jews, the clergy, the cities, the merchants, and, in a word, from all kind of perſons, by all kind of means; but having obtained the money, he talked no more of the expedition. Notwithſtanding all theſe expedients for raiſing money, ſuch was the inſatiable avarice of thoſe foreign harpies with whom Henry was ſurrounded, that he was thereby reduced to ſuch ſtraits as to ſay, "that alms given to him were more charitably beſtowed than on the wretch who begged

37 Knyghton, col. 2436. 38 M. Paris, p. 501.
39 Id. p. 518. M. Weſt. p. 338. Chron. Dunſt. p. 293.

A.D.1247. "from door to door[40]." Nay (if we may believe a contemporary hiſtorian), the officers of the king's houſehold acted the part of common robbers and highwaymen, with the knowledge of their royal maſter, who ſhared in their booty.

A.D.1252. Quarrel between Henry and the earl of Leiceſter.

The province of Gaſcony, in France, ſtill belonged to the crown of England; but ſeveral barons in that province had rebelled againſt the Engliſh government, and Henry had ſent his brother-in-law Simon de Montfort earl of Leiceſter with an army to quell theſe rebellious barons. Montfort ſucceeded in his deſign, and reduced the revolted barons; but exerciſed ſuch ſeverity in his government, that the whole inhabitants of Gaſcony were exaſperated againſt him, and ſent commiſſioners over to England, who accuſed him of many acts of oppreſſion. Henry received theſe commiſſioners very favourably, and plainly diſcovered his wiſhes that Montfort might be found guilty. This obliged the earl to have recourſe to the diſcontented barons; among whom he made ſo powerful a party, that when he came to his trial he was acquitted by his peers, in ſpite of all the Gaſcon commiſſioners, and the king himſelf, could ſay againſt him. Henry was ſo much enraged at this, that, forgetting the dignity of his character, he loaded the earl with opprobrious language, calling him a villain and a traitor. Montfort, naturally proud and paſſionate, ſtarting up in a violent rage, told the king he lied. Such were the fierce and rude manners of thoſe times, and ſo much

[40] M. Paris, p. 517.

was

was majeſty degraded by the weakneſs of this prince! This outrageous affront however made ſo deep an impreſſion on the king's mind, that he was never entirely reconciled to the earl [41]. A.D. 1252.

Henry finding that all the violent, illegal, and diſgraceful methods of raiſing money which he had uſed, were quite inſufficient to ſupply his wants, reſolved again to make trial of a parliament; and one was ſummoned to meet at Weſtminſter on the 5th of April, A. D. 1253. The king laid an account of his neceſſities before this aſſembly; and further informed them, that he deſigned to ſet out as ſoon as poſſible for the Holy Land, and earneſtly intreated them to grant him ſuch a ſupply as would enable him to accompliſh that pious deſign. In order to obviate their uſual reproaches, and to gain their conſent, he made many acknowledgments of his former errors, and gave them the ſtrongeſt aſ[ſurance] that he would govern for the future according to their wiſhes, and would confirm the charters of their liberties in any manner they pleaſed. The parliament was by no means convinced of his ſincerity, yet, after ſome deliberation, they reſolved to make one further trial, by taking him at his word; and agreed to grant him a tenth of the eccleſiaſtical revenues for three years, and a ſubſidy of three ſhillings on every knight's fee, on condition of confirming the charters with ſuch awful ſolemnities as might be deemed inviolable; to which the king conſented. According to this agreement, the A.D. 1253. The charters confirmed with great ſolemnity.

[41] M. Paris, p. 507. 513. 559, 560.

A.D.1253. king, with the whole parliament, met, on the 4th of May, in the great hall at Weſtminſter, the prelates and clergy in their robes, with each a lighted ta[per] in his hand. The great charter, and charter of th[e] foreſts, were read aloud to this auguſt aſſembly; and then a ſentence of excommunication, containing th[e] moſt tremendous curſes and denunciations of th[e] divine wrath againſt all who ſhould violate, or con[-] ſent to the violation of theſe charters, in any parti[-] cular, was pronounced; at the concluſion of which, the prelates and clergy threw their tapers on the ground, crying with one voice, "So may every "one be extinguiſhed, and ſtink in hell, who ſhall "incur this ſentence." To which the king, laying his right hand upon his heart, replied, "So help "me God, as I ſhall faithfully obſerve all theſe ar-"ticles, as I am a man, as I am a Chriſtian, as I "am a knight, and as I am a crowned [k]ing." Theſe obligations, it muſt be [ob]ſerved, were as ſolemn and awful as could well be [de]viſed; but they were very ſoon violated by this [fa]ithleſs and miſguided prince[42].

A.D.1254. Expedition into Gaſcony. The diveſting Montfort earl of Leiceſter [of] command in Gaſcony, which followed ſoon [af]ter the violent quarrel above related, was attended with [ve]ry ill effects. The Gaſcon barons, no longer [ov]erawed by that brave and active governor, became [mo]re and more turbulent; and even invited the king of Caſtile to take poſſeſſion of their country, who [pre]tended to have got a grant of it from Henry

[42] M. Paris, p. 580. Annal. Burt. 323. M. Weſtmonſt. p. 254.

The

The Caſtilian, in conjunction with the diſaffected barons, reduced ſeveral places, and threatened the [illegible]uction of the whole province. But Henry, [illegible]ing now reconciled to his Engliſh ſubjects by [illegible] late ſolemn confirmation of their charters, [illegible]nd himſelf in a capacity to undertake an expe[illegible]n into Gaſcony [43]. Accordingly he ſummoned [illegible]is military tenants to meet him in June at [illegible]ſmouth; and on the 15th of Auguſt he arrived [illegible]Bourdeaux with a gallant army, which ſoon [illegible]vered all the places which had been loſt, and [illegible]ged the king of Caſtile to make a formal re[illegible]nciation of all his pretenſions to Gaſcony. The [illegible]conciliation between the two courts was ſo com[illegible]te, that a marriage was concluded between Ed[illegible]d prince of England and Eleanor princeſs of [illegible]ile. A.D. 1254.

[illegible], who delighted much in ſow diſho[illegible]ng, carefully concealed all this, and ſent[illegible]er his commands to the queen, and his brother [illegible]e earl of Cornwall, regents of England, to call [illegible] parliament, and demand a ſupply for carrying [illegible] the war. A parliament was accordingly aſſem[illegible]d on 27th January A.D. 1254; but, having [illegible]t ſome hint of the pacification, refuſed to grant [illegible]y money until Gaſcony was actually invaded. [illegible]enry not ſatisfied with this denial, commanded [illegible]e regents to reaſſemble the parliament fifteen [illegible]ys after Eaſter. But the earl of Leiceſter re- Henry endeavours to deceive his parliament.

[43] M. Paris, p. 581. M. Weſtmonſt. p. 256. Rymeri Fœdera, 1. p. 505.

A.D.1254. turned from Gaſcony before that time, and having made a full diſcovery of the ſtate of affairs there, the parliament returned the ſame anſwer to ſecond demand; and all Henry's diſhonoura arts to impoſe upon his people ſerved only to vive their former diſtruſt of him, and cont for him [44].

Henry returns to England. Lewis king of France having this year ret from his unfortunate expedition into the Holy Henry applied to him for leave to paſs th France in his way to England. This favour readily granted; and Henry, with all his n rous court and retinue, were magnificently en tained for ſome time at Paris; and all poſſi honours were paid him in all places thro which he paſſed. So much time was ſpent in journey, that Henry did not arrive in En till the beginning of the year 1255 [45].

A.D.1255. The pope offers the crown of Sicily to Henry's ſecond ſon. The pope, who ſtill acted as ſuper England, had contributed very much, by great authority he poſſeſſed, and the terror of ſpiritual thunders, to ſupport Henry in all illegal exactions, and to prevent the diſconte barons from proceeding to extremities. But holineſs about this time led his royal vaſſa England into an affair which involved him great expence and trouble, by making him offer of the crown of Sicily for his ſecond prince Edmond [46]. The pope pretended to

[44] M. Paris, p. 592. 594.
[45] Id. p. 600.
[46] Rymer, vol. 1. p. 512, &c.

poſe of that crown, both as ſuperior lord of Sicily, and as vicar of Jeſus Chriſt, to whom all the kingdoms of the earth belonged. He had offered this dangerous preſent to Richard earl of Cornwall, the king's brother, who wiſely declined the offer; but Henry, not ſo cautious, accepted of it; and his ſon was ſtyled *king of Sicily*. This crown, however was to be won before it could be worn. In order to this, Henry gave his holineſs an unlimited credit, to employ what ſums of money he pleaſed in wreſting the crown from Manfroy, who was in poſſeſſion of it, engaging to reimburſe him[47]. The pope, glad of an opportunity of making war on his mortal enemy Manfroy at another's coſt, ſpared no expence; and in a little time the unwary Henry found himſelf loaded with an immenſe debt of 250,000l.[48] A.D.1255.

The ſituation of this prince, on this occaſion, was truly perplexing: if he refuſed to pay this debt, beſides loſing all hopes of the crown of Sicily, he would incur the indignation of the pope, whoſe favour was his greateſt ſupport; if he attempted to pay it, he muſt have recourſe to new and greater acts of oppreſſion, which might be dangerous. To extricate himſelf out of theſe difficulties, he reſolved to call a parliament: but in doing this he uſed a piece of craft, which defeated its own end. He ſummoned only ſuch barons as he hoped would comply with his deſires; ſending no writs to ſuch as he ap- A parliament.

[47] M. Paris, p. 599.
[48] Rymer, vol. 1. p. 587, &c. M. Paris, p. 617.

A.D.1255. prehended would be refractory. This parliament met on the 18th October, A.D. 1255; and when the king laid before them a repreſentation of his neceſſities, and requeſted a ſupply, they made anſwer, that they could grant no money without the conſent of the abſent barons, who had not been ſummoned [49].

Henry and the pope oppreſs the clergy.

The church was now Henry's great reſource for money; and by the aſſiſtance of papal authority he ſqueezed the clergy without mercy. The pope, by virtue of the plenitude of his apoſtolical power, granted the king, by ſeveral bulls, the goods of all clergymen who died inteſtate; the revenues of all vacant benefices, and of all non-reſidents: he publiſhed a croiſade againſt Mainfroy, whom he repreſented as a greater enemy to the Chriſtian faith than any Saracen [50]: he commanded all the money which had been granted by the Engliſh parliament for an expedition into the Holy Land to be employed in the conqueſt of Sicily; he releaſed Henry and all others who had taken the croſs or promiſed money for the holy war, from their vows, on condition of their engaging in perſon in the war againſt Mainfroy, or advancing money for its ſupport. It would be endleſs to enumerate all the arts which the pope and king employed at this time to extort money from the people, eſpecially from the clergy of England; but one of theſe arts was too remarkable for the villany and impudence of it to be omitted. Walleran biſhop of Hereford, a crea-

[49] M. Paris, p. 614.

[50] Rymer, vol. 1. p. 568. 591.

of the pope, who reſided at Rome as an nt for the church of England, drew bills of erent values on all the biſhops, abbots, and iderable clergymen of the kingdom, amount- n the whole to 150,540 marks: an immenſe thoſe days! Theſe bills were granted to merchants; who, it was pretended, had ed the money contained in them, for the war [51]. A.D.1255.

n this exorbitant demand was firſt notified e Engliſh clergy, they were filled with aſtoniſh- t and indignation, and ſome of them declared r reſolution to ſuffer any extremity rather than mply with it. They were threatened with de- vation; and one of the biſhops had the boldneſs ſay, that if they took his mitre from his head, would ſupply its place with a helmet [52]. Yet, th ſuch union and perſeverence did the pope d king urge their demand, that the clergy, r a long and ſpirited reſiſtance, were conſtrain- o ſubmit to this intolerable impoſition [53]. Reſiſtance of the clergy.

hough Richard earl of Cornwall was of a different character from the king his bro- , being as remarkable for amaſſing money as other was for ſquandering it; yet at laſt his bition got the better of his prudence, and he barked in an affair which proved as chimerical and expenſive as that of Sicily. The imperial throne being vacant, ſome of the electors caſt A.D.1257. Richard earl of Cornwall choſen king of the Romans.

[51] Rymer Fœdera, t. 1. p. 595. [52] M. Paris, p. 615, 616.
[53] Id. p. 617. 619.

their

A.D. 1257. their eyes on earl Richard, or rather on his r
and he was choſen king of the Romans, a
deputation ſent to invite him to come and
poſſeſſion of that dignity. Richard, dazzled
the luſtre of the Imperial crown, after ſome
tation, accepted of the invitation; and i
A. D. 1257, he departed from England
noble train of forty Engliſh gentlemen
carried with him, if we may believe M
Paris, a contemporary hiſtorian, no leſs
of money than ſeven hundred thouſand m
equal in value and efficacy to eight millio
our money at preſent [54]. But this prince, on
arrival in Germany, found that he had a powe
rival for the Imperial throne, in Alphonſo k
of Caſtile; and expended all the money he car
with him, beſides ſeveral remittances from E
land, without obtaining any thing in return but
empty title of king of the Romans.

A.D. 1258. Fatal conſequences of the departure of earl Richard.

The departure of earl Richard from Engl
at this time was very fatal both to his country
his family: to his country, by draining it of
a prodigious maſs of treaſure, the want of w
was very ſeverely felt; to his family, by depri
it of the ſupport of the firſt prince of the bl
the richeſt and moſt powerful ſubject in Euro
For though Richard had often joined the diſc
tended barons, in their remonſtrances againſt th
illegal and arbitrary meaſures of Henry's govern-
ment; yet whenever the barons attempted to go

[54] M. Paris, p. 639.

too

too far, and to deprive the crown of its juſt prerogatives, he always deſerted them, and put a ſtop to their proceedings. But as ſoon as the throne was deprived of this great ſupport, the barons made bold attacks upon it; and the miſguided prince ſoon furniſhed them with a favourable opportunity. A.D 1258.

Henry, ſtill deluded by the pope, continued to proſecute the ridiculous deſign of conquering Sicily, called a parliament, and demanded ſupplies for that purpoſe. Never was any demand more imprudent or unſeaſonable. It furniſhed the earl of Leiceſter, and the other diſcontented barons, with the faireſt occaſion of reproaching Henry with all the errors and abuſes of his government; which they did in the ſtrongeſt terms, concluding with a ſolemn declaration, that they were determined no longer to rely on his oaths and promiſes, which had been ſo often violated, but were reſolved immediately to drive all foreigners from his court and preſence, and to have the adminiſtration put into ſuch hands as they could depend upon. In fine, they propoſed, that twenty-four perſons ſhould be choſen, twelve from the king's council, and twelve from their own number, to whom full powers ſhould be given to reform all the abuſes in the government, and to make ſuch regulations as ſhould effectually prevent the return of ſuch abuſes. The king, intimidated by the determined air and martial appearance of the barons, who came into the parliament-hall in complete armour, conſented to every thing pro- A parliament.

A.D.1258. poſed; and another meeting was appointed to bring this new model of government to perfection [55].

The proviſions of Oxford.

Accordingly, on the 11th June A. D. 1258, that famous aſſembly, afterwards called the *mad parliament*, met at Oxford. The barons came attended with ſuch an armed force as rendered any oppoſition from the court impracticable. According to agreement, twelve barons were choſen by the king's council, and twelve by the parliament; to whom was given an abſolute authority, unlimited both as to time and power, to reform the ſtate, and make what regulations they thought fit, for the future government of the kingdom; in a word, into their hands was committed the whole legiſlative and executive power: and the king himſelf, his eldeſt ſon prince Edward, and all perſons in all ſtations, took a ſolemn oath to obſerve and obey all regulations which ſhould be made by theſe twenty-four barons [56]. As the earl of Leiceſter was the moſt conſiderable perſon in this junto, for riches, power, eloquence, boldneſs, and popularity; they acted chiefly by his direction and advice. Their firſt tranſactions bore a ſpecious appearance of a real regard to the public good. They ordained, that three ſeſſions of parliament ſhould be held every year, in the months of February, June, and October [57]:—That four knights ſhould be choſen in each county, to

[55] M. Paris, p. 653.

[56] Rymer, vol. 1. p. 655. Chron. Dunſt. p. 334.

[57] Ann. Burt. p. 415.

enquire

nquire into the peculiar grievances of that county, A.D.1258.
nd lay the ſame before each meeting of parliament;
d that the expences of theſe knights in the per-
rmance of that ſervice ſhould be borne by their
ounty:—That a new high ſheriff ſhould be elected
very year, by the votes of the freeholders in each
county:—That none of the royal wards ſhould be
committed to the cuſtody of foreigners:—That no
new foreſts or warrens ſhould be created:—and,
That the revenues of counties ſhould not be let to
farm. Such were the firſt regulations (commonly
called the *Proviſions of Oxford*) which were made
by the twenty-four barons [58].

If theſe barons had proceeded in the ſame mo- A.D.1259.
derate and equitable courſe, and made all proper Violations of the conſtitution.
haſte to finiſh the work of reformation, there would
have been no great reaſon to complain of their abuſe
of the unlimited authority with which they had been
intruſted. But their ſubſequent proceedings diſco-
vered a very intereſted ſpirit, and indicated an inten-
tion to perpetuate their own power, and turn it to
their own private advantage. They got into their
poſſeſſion all the royal caſtles, which they either kept
in their own hands, or committed to the cuſtody of
their creatures. They turned out all the great offi-
cers of ſtate, and of the king's houſehold, to make
room for themſelves and their dependents. They
enriched themſelves and their families, by the royal
eſcheats and wardſhips. In a word, the twenty-four
barons engroſſed the whole power, and a great part

[58] Rymeri Fœdera, p. 669, &c. Annal. Burton. p. 414, &c.

of

A.D. 1259. of the revenues of the crown; the king was a mere pageant of ſtate, without the leaſt ſhadow of authority, and the Engliſh conſtitution was entirely changed from a monarchy to an ariſtocracy, or rather an oligarchy [59].

Prince Edward, &c. obliged to ſubmit.

Prince Edward, the king's uterine brothers, the queen's relations, and ſome of the Engliſh barons, made ſome oppoſition to all theſe prodigious changes; particularly to the oath of unlimited ſubmiſſion to all the ordinances of the twenty-four barons, made and to be made; and to the ſurrender of the royal caſtles: but the torrent ran ſo ſtrong, that all oppoſition was in vain, and they were obliged to ſubmit [60].

The king's uterine brothers fly.

The foreign favourites, againſt whom Leiceſter, himſelf a foreigner, denounced the moſt terrible threatenings, ſeeing the king no longer able to protect them, betook themſelves to flight, and eſcaped out of the kingdom [61]. Even the king of the Romans, who paid a viſit to his native country, A. D. 1259, was not allowed to ſet his foot in England, until he had ſolemnly engaged to take the oath of ſubmiſſion, and comply with all theſe changes [62]. With ſuch a high hand did the twenty-four barons exert their unlimited authority, that the pope himſelf, who made nothing of dethroning emperors, though greatly exaſperated againſt them on many accounts, was obliged to ſmother his reſentment.

59 Ann. Burt. p. 413. T. Wykes, p. 53. 60 T. Wykes, p. 53. Ann. Burt. p. 411. 61 M. Paris, p. 660. Ann. Burt. p. 441. 62 T. Wykes, p. 53.

The

The twenty-four barons, however, did not long enjoy their exorbitant power in peace. They had loſt much of their popularity by their arbitrary proceedings: they were often called upon, both by king and people, to finiſh the intended reformation, that they might lay down their commiſſion; but they made no haſte to comply with theſe calls; and ſome trifling regulations which they publiſhed gave little ſatisfaction[63]. But what was moſt fatal to their power and intereſt, was ſome ſecret jealouſies and diſputes which aroſe amongſt themſelves, particularly between the two powerful earls of Leiceſter and Glouceſter, the latter alleging, that the former aſſumed too great a ſhare of authority, and acted many things without conſulting his colleagues[64]. A.D.1261. The 24 barons become unpopular.

The king, who bore with great impatience the ſtate of inſignificancy to which he was reduced, hearing of theſe circumſtances, began to entertain hopes of recovering his former authority, and formed a ſcheme for that purpoſe. But this, like many other ſchemes of that prince, was ill-concerted and unſeaſonable; his ſon, prince Edward, and his brother, the king of the Romans, who were moſt able to ſupport him, being both out of the kingdom. Henry, however, having taken his reſolution, came unexpectedly into parliament, which was held at London, April 23, A. D. 1262, and reproaching the twenty-four barons with the breach of their promiſes to him, and the many abuſes of their A.D.1262. The king endeavours to recover his authority.

[63] Trivit. p. 209. Ann. Burt. p. 428—439. [64] Chron. Dunſt. p. 348.

power,

A.D.1262. power, declared that he would no longer pay any regard to the proviſions of Oxford, but would immediately reſume the exerciſe of his royal authority [65]. Having made this bold declaration, he retired to the tower, whoſe governor he had gained, ſeized a conſiderable treaſure which was depoſited there, and from thence, by proclamation, turned out all the great officers, judges, and ſheriffs, which had been nominated by the twenty-four barons, and put others in their room [66]. This occaſioned infinite confuſion in the kingdom; ſome obeying the officers and magiſtrates nominated by the king, and others obeying thoſe nominated by the barons; and many paying no regard to any magiſtracy, but living as if all government had been diſſolved.

Diſpute between Henry and the barons compromiſed.

The twenty-four barons, and their party, were prodigiouſly aſtoniſhed at theſe proceedings of the king, of which they had received no previous notice. But after their firſt ſurpriſe was over, they began to conſult what was neceſſary to be done for their own preſervation, and that of their authority. In order to this, they reſolved to bury all their private quarrels and animoſities in oblivion; and the earls of Leiceſter and Glouceſter were reconciled: they bound themſelves anew, by the moſt ſolemn oaths, to ſtand by one another, and to ſupport the proviſions of Oxford with their lives and fortunes. Strengthened by this union among themſelves, the twenty-four barons began to talk and act with their former authority. They ſent the king a meſſage,

[65] T. Wykes, p. 55. [66] Id. p. 56.

requiring

quiring him to recal his late declaration, and sub- A.D.1262.
it to the provisions of Oxford, declaring, that if he did not comply, they would compel him to it by force of arms [67]. When things were in this strange unsettled state, prince Edward and the king of the Romans arrived in England. The prince, very much to his own honour, but to the great surprise and disappointment of his father, declared, that though he had taken the oath of submission to the Oxford provisions, much against his will, yet he thought himself bound to observe that oath [68]. The king of the Romans offering his mediation, it was accepted by both parties; and an agreement was brought about on the following terms: That Henry should once more submit to the provisions of Oxford; and that the barons should change and mitigate certain articles which were most displeasing to the king. But the earl of Leicester refused to sign this agreement, declaring, that he could no longer rely on any promises of a prince who had so often violated his most solemn oaths; and he retired into France in great discontent. By this pacification, however, some degree of order and tranquillity was restored to the distracted kingdom [69].

Henry imprudently trusting to this appearance of A.D.1263. Pacification.
tranquillity, or more probably in order to avoid fulfilling his part of the late treaty, hastened over to Bourdeaux, to settle, as he pretended, some affairs in Guienne [70]. The barons, displeased that the king

[67] M. Paris, p. 667. [68] Id. ibid. [69] T. Wykes, p. 57.
[70] M. West. p. 381.

A.D.1263. had left the kingdom without confirming the Oxford proviſions, were greatly incenſed at his endleſs prevarications; and the earl of Leiceſter, returning from France, ſo effectually inflamed them, that they became more united, and more determined to proceed to extremities, than ever. As ſoon as the king returned from Guienne, the barons addreſſed him in a body, demanding the immediate confirmation of the proviſions of Oxford. But Henry having overcome the ſcruples of his ſon prince Edward, and depending on the aſſiſtance of his brother, and ſome other barons, returned a rough anſwer to this demand; and even went ſo far as to call them rebels, and threatened them with the ſevereſt puniſhments. This anſwer was more than ſufficient to drive the barons to extremities: they immediately flew to arms; and chuſing the earl of Leiceſter for their general, they deſtroyed the lands of the king and his adherents, put to death all foreigners that fell in their way, and took ſeveral cities, before the king had any troops ready to oppoſe them[71]. This brought Henry once more to conſent to any terms the barons thought fit to preſcribe; and a ſecond pacification was made on the following conditions: 1. That all the king's caſtles ſhould be delivered to the barons. 2. That the proviſions of Oxford ſhould be inviolably obſerved. 3. That all foreigners ſhould be baniſhed. 4. That the adminiſtration of affairs ſhould be committed to ſuch as the barons pleaſed[72].

[71] Trivit. p. 211. M. Weſt. p. 382.

[72] Chron. Dunſt. p. 358. M. Paris, p. 668, 669.

But

But this pacification was no better obſerved than the former; and the whole year 1263 was ſpent in alternate truces and hoſtilities between the king and the barons. The citizens of London having in general embraced the party of the barons with the moſt ardent zeal, the mob of that city inſulted the queen, as ſhe was upon the river in her barge, with the moſt opprobrious language; and even put her in fear of her life, by throwing at her dirt and ſtones [73]. Prince Edward was beſieged in the caſtle of Briſtol by the inhabitants of that city; and having got from thence by ſtratagem, he was again beſieged by the barons in Windſor caſtle; and being taken priſoner in a conference with the earl of Leiceſter, he was obliged to purchaſe his liberty by the ſurrender of the caſtle [74]. Theſe, and ſome other unfavourable events, again diſcouraged the king, and obliged him to ſubmit to more diſadvantageous terms than any he had yet yielded to, in order to obtain a ceſſation of hoſtilities. A pacification was accordingly concluded, on the 18th of July A. D. 1263, by which the authority of the twenty-four barons was to continue, not only during the reign of the preſent king, but even during that of his ſucceſſor [75].

A.D 1263. Another pacification.

This laſt condition, as might be expected, was very diſpleaſing to prince Edward; who, exerting himſelf with great vigour, gained over to the royal party ſeveral great barons, who either envied the

[redacted]

[73] T. Wykes. p. 57. M. Paris, p. 668.
[74] Trivit. p. 213. [75] M. Weſt. 383.

A.D.1264. authority, or diſliked the violence, of the twenty-four. This brought the two parties much nearer to an equality than they had been, and made them both readily agree to refer all their differences to Lewis IX. king of France, a prince univerſally admired for his great wiſdom and virtue. This reference being ratified by the oaths and ſubſcriptions of all the great men in both parties, Lewis undertook the honourable and friendly office of umpire, and ſummoned the ſtates of France to meet at Amiens on the 23d January, A. D. 1264, in order to examine the merits of this great cauſe in their preſence; and on the 3d of February he pronounced this equitable award: That the proviſions of Oxford, being deſtructive of the royal authority, and ſubverſive of the ancient conſtitution, ſhould be annulled, and the king reſtored to the poſſeſſion of all his caſtles, lands, and revenues; to the nomination of the great officers of ſtate, and of his houſehold; and, in general, to all the royal rights and prerogatives which he had enjoyed before the meeting of the parliament of Oxford. On the other hand, he decreed, That a general amneſty ſhould be granted to all the ſubjects of England, for all paſt offences; and that they ſhould be maintained in the full enjoyment of all liberties and privileges which had been granted to them by any former charters [76].

As ſoon as this award was notified to the earl of Leiceſter and his party, they rejected it with diſ-

[76] Rymer, vol. 1. p. 776, 777, 778. M. Weſt. p. 383.

dain;

dain; affirming, that the one part of it was a contradiction to the other; and that it was impoſſible the liberties of England granted by the charters could be maintained, without the proviſions of Oxford [77]. It now appeared evident to all the world, that this great quarrel could be decided only by the ſword; and therefore both parties prepared for war with great eagerneſs. The earl of Leiceſter continued in London, the zeal and wealth of whoſe citizens was the great ſupport of his party, and ſent his ſons and partizans into all parts of England to raiſe forces. The king ſummoned his military tenants, and the barons of his party, from all quarters, and ſoon found himſelf at the head of a numerous and gallant army [78]. The royal arms were at firſt ſucceſsful, having taken Northampton by aſſault on the 5th April. Simon de Montfort, one of Leiceſter's ſons, with ſome other barons, and the whole garriſon, were made priſoners; and Leiceſter and Nottingham opened their gates to prince Edward [79]. On the other hand, the earl of Leiceſter formed the ſiege of Rocheſter, in which the earl of Warrenne, and ſeveral other barons of the royal party, had taken ſhelter [80]. The king and prince, hearing of their danger, haſtened to their relief; and Leiceſter, at their approach, raiſed the ſiege, and retired with his army to London. A.D. 1264.

Here having received a powerful reinforcement of fifteen thouſand of the moſt zealous citizens, Battle of Lewes.

77 Chron. Dunſt. p. 363. 78 Rym. t. 1. p. 772.
79 T. Wykes, p. 60. 80 Id. p. 61.

A.D.1264. he thought himſelf ſufficiently ſtrong to meet the royaliſts in the field [81]. Leaving London, therefore, he directed his march towards Lewes in Suſſex, where the king and prince, with their army, lay encamped. At this place, on the 14th of May A.D. 1264, was fought the famous and deciſive battle of Lewes. The royal army was divided into three bodies, the van commanded by prince Edward, the main body commanded by the king of the Romans and his ſon Henry, and the rear by the king in perſon, aſſiſted by ſome of the chief barons of his party [82]. The other army was divided into four bodies, the van, conſiſting entirely of Londoners, commanded by Nicolas de Segrave, the main body commanded by the earl of Leiceſter in perſon, and two bodies of reſerve, the one commanded by the earl of Glouceſter, and the other by Henry and Guy de Montfort, two of Leiceſter's ſons. In the beginning of the action, victory declared for the royaliſts. Prince Edward made ſo furious an attack upon the Londoners, that he put them to flight; and, tranſported by his youthful ardour, and the reſentment of the many injuries they had heaped upon his family, purſued them four miles with great eagerneſs and ſlaughter [83]. Leiceſter, taking advantage of the great error the prince had committed, led on the bodies commanded by himſelf,

[81] M. Weſt. p. 386.
[82] M. Weſt. p. 387. T. Wykes, p. 63.
[83] Hemming, p. 583. M. Paris, p. 670, 671.

by

by Glouceſter, and by his ſons, againſt the main body of the royaliſts, which was defeated with great ſlaughter, and the king of the Romans, who commanded it, taken priſoner; and ſoon after king Henry ſhared the ſame fate, the rear of his army, where he was, being alſo defeated, and purſued into the town of Lewes [84]. A.D. 1264.

Prince Edward at laſt returning from the purſuit of the Londoners, to his infinite ſurpriſe and grief, found the day entirely loſt, and heard that the two kings, his father and uncle, with many of the chief barons of the party, were priſoners. He endeavoured to perſuade the forces he had about him, to renew the battle while the victors were in ſome confuſion; but they were too much confounded and diſpirited to liſten to his perſuaſions; and the artful Leiceſter, fearing ſome attempt of that kind, amuſed the prince with propoſals for an accommodation [85]. In the mean time the earl was buſy in ſecuring his royal priſoners, and rallying his troops, with which he ſurrounded the prince on all hands. Edward, finding that there was hardly a poſſibility left for his eſcape, was obliged to ſubmit to theſe hard conditions: That the proviſions of Oxford ſhould be confirmed and executed; and that the prince, and his couſin Henry, ſon to the king of the Romans, ſhould ſurrender themſelves priſoners, and remain as hoſtages for their reſpective fathers, in The Miſe of Lewes;

[84] M. Weſt. p. 387. [85] Flemming, p. 584.

A.D.1264. the hands of Leiceſter and the barons, until all things were completely ſettled [86].

Violated by Leiceſter.

This treaty is commonly known in the Engliſh hiſtory by the name of the *Miſe of Lewes*; in conſequence of which, prince Edward, and his couſin Henry, immediately ſurrendered themſelves to Leiceſter, who ſent them under a ſtrong guard to Dover caſtle. As the great deſign of Leiceſter and the barons in making the miſe or agreement of Lewes, was to get prince Edward into their hands, who was the chief object of their fears, and of the hopes of the royal party, as ſoon as they had accompliſhed this end, they paid no further regard to that agreement. The two kings who ſhould have been ſet at liberty by that treaty, were ſtill priſoners in effect, being ſurrounded by ſuch only as were entirely devoted to Leiceſter; who made the unfortunate Henry ſend orders to all the governors of his caſtles to ſurrender them to the barons; and made uſe of the king as an inſtrument of deſtroying the royal authority, and advancing his own, and that of his party [87].

Avarice and ambition of Leiceſter.

The earl of Leiceſter having got the chief perſons of the royal family, and the whole royal authority, into his hands, became wanton with proſperity, and gave full ſcope to his two ruling paſſions, avarice and ambition. To gratify the former, he ſeized the eſtates of eighteen barons of the royal party, and appropriated to himſelf

[86] M. Paris, p. 671. Knyghton, col. 2451. T. Wykes, p. 63.
[87] Rymer, vol. 1. p. 796, &c.

the

the greateſt part of the money ariſing from the ranſom of the priſoners which had been taken at the battle of Lewes; and took many other oppreſſive and diſhonourable methods to fill his coffers [88]. To ſatisfy his ambition, he contrived a new plan of government, by which the royal authority was committed to three perſons, viz. himſelf, the earl of Glouceſter, and the biſhop of Chicheſter; and as the biſhop was entirely under his influence, he in reality had the ſupreme direction of all public affairs [89]. A.D. 1264.

Such immenſe wealth and exorbitant power in any ſubject could not fail to excite envy; and the natural haughtineſs of Leiceſter, increaſed by his great good fortune, rendered his exaltation ſtill more offenſive and invidious. He was generally ſuſpected, and even openly accuſed, of aſpiring to the throne. The fallen and deſolate ſtate of the royal family, not only increaſed the tenderneſs and affection of their own party, but began to awaken compaſſion in the breaſts of many who had contributed to their fall. The earl of Glouceſter, in particular, ſeeing himſelf ſo much eclipſed by his all-graſping and too powerful aſſociate, ſecretly conſpired his ruin [90]. Effects of Leiceſter's conduct.

The earl of Leiceſter was too quick-ſighted not to diſcern the exiſtence, and dread the conſequences, of theſe increaſing diſcontents, which A.D. 1265. Parliament.

[88] T. Wykes, p. 63. M. Paris, p. 671.
[89] Brady's Appendix, N° 213. Rymeri Fœdera, t. 1. p. 693, &c.
[90] M. Paris, p. 671.

prevailed

A.D. 1265. prevailed chiefly among the better ſort. In order to diminiſh this odium under which he had fallen, he put on an appearance of moderation, and called a parliament, in order, as he pretended, to ſet prince Edward at liberty. To this famous parliament were ſummoned not only the great barons, but every ſhire was ordered to ſend two knights, every city two citizens, and every burgh two burgeſſes, as their repreſentatives [91]. This parliament aſſembled 28th January A. D. 1265, and, by the perſuaſion of the earl of Leiceſter, made a decree to ſet prince Edward at liberty, but at the ſame time commanding that he ſhould remain near the perſon of the king his father. The prince was accordingly brought from Dover caſtle, and delivered to his father; but as the king was in reality a priſoner in the hands of Leiceſter, the prince was guarded with the moſt jealous care, and ſoon found that he was ſtill a priſoner, only a little more at large [92]. This groſs impoſition rather increaſed than diminiſhed the hatred and jealouſy of the public againſt Leiceſter. The earl of Glouceſter, not daring to truſt his perſon within the reach of his daring and powerful rival, retired to his eſtate, repaired and garriſoned his caſtles, and made all poſſible preparations for his own defence [93].

Prince Edward makes his eſcape.

Leiceſter, determined to cruſh the earl of Glouceſter and his adherents, proclaimed them

[91] Rymer, vol. 1. p. 802. [92] Annal. Waverlien. p. 216.
[93] T. Wykes, p. 66. M. Paris, p. 671. Annal. Waverlien. p. 216.

traitors

traitors in the king's name, raiſed an army, and marched towards them, carrying the king and prince with him. As the two armies drew near to one another, the earl of Glouceſter formed a ſcheme for the deliverance of prince Edward out of the hands of Leiceſter; he even found means of communicating this ſcheme to the prince, and of getting a horſe of extraordinary fleetneſs conveyed to him. The prince, in conſequence of this concert, feigned himſelf indiſpoſed for ſome days, and then pretending to recover, he propoſed to take an airing on horſeback, for the benefit of his health. Leiceſter ſuſpecting nothing, and truſting to the fidelity and vigilance of the gentlemen he had placed about the prince's perſon, made no oppoſition. As the prince and his company, or rather guards, were riding along, he artfully propoſed running matches between the ſeveral gentlemen who were beſt mounted; while he himſelf, as hardly recovered from his indiſpoſition, moved gently along, on the horſe conveyed to him by the earl of Glouceſter. At length, when he obſerved the horſes of his attendants ſufficiently blown by their diverſion, the prince, ſuddenly clapping ſpurs to his horſe, rode off at full ſpeed. As ſoon as his attendants recovered from their ſurpriſe, they purſued him till they ſaw the prince received by a party of horſe, which had been ſent to favour his eſcape[94]. A.D.1265.

[94] T. Wykes, p. 67. W. Heming, p. 585.

This

A.D.1265. This fortunate eſcape of prince Edward gave incredible joy to all the friends of the royal family; who flew to arms, and haſtened to his ſtandard; and being joined by the earl of Glouceſter, Roger Mortimer, and the barons of theſe parts, he ſoon found himſelf at the head of a very gallant army [95]. At the deſire of the earl of Glouceſter, the prince made a ſolemn declaration to the army, That if God ſhould grant him victory, he would perſuade the king his father to baniſh all foreigners, to preſerve the liberties, and govern according to the laws of England. This declaration inſpired his army with the warmeſt attachment to his perſon, and the moſt ardent zeal for the royal cauſe [96].

Prince Edward at the head of an army.

Though Leiceſter was greatly aſtoniſhed at the prince's eſcape, he was not wanting to himſelf, but took every meaſure he could think of for his own preſervation. Having the king ſtill in his hands, he obliged that unhappy prince to iſſue a proclamation, declaring his ſon prince Edward, the earl of Glouceſter, and all their adherents, traitors, and forbidding his ſubjects to give them any aſſiſtance [97]. He wrote to his eldeſt ſon, Simon de Montfort, to make all poſſible haſte to join him with an army from London. But this junction never took effect; for prince Edward, making forced marches, ſurpriſed young Montfort

Battles of Kenilworth and Eveſham.

[95] T. Wykes, p. 68. [96] Id. ibid.

[97] Brady's Appendix, N° 221, 222. Rymeri Fœdera, t. 1. p. 810, 811, 812, &c.

and his army at Kennelworth, and cut the greateſt part of them in pieces, on the 1ſt of Auguſt A. D. 1265[98]. The prince, without loſing a moment's time, turned about and directed his march towards the Severn, in order to meet and attack old Montfort, before he heard of his ſon's defeat. Leiceſter had paſſed the Severn, and was advanced as far as Eveſham, expecting every moment to be joined by his ſon with his army from London, of whoſe misfortune he had received no information. Prince Edward commanded one part of his army to approach Eveſham by the road from Kennelworth, diſplaying the banners which had been taken from young Montfort's army; and the earl of Leiceſter's ſpies, deceived by that appearance, brought him word, that his ſon, with his army, was at hand. But the earl did not long enjoy the pleaſure of this miſtake; for he ſoon diſcovered with his own eyes, that they were enemies who advanced; and obſerving their great numbers, and excellent order, he had a preſage of his approaching fate; which made him cry out, "God have mercy on our ſouls; for our bodies "are prince Edward's[99]." The armies ſoon engaged, and, being animated by the example of their valiant leaders, fought with uncommon fury. In the heat of the action, king Henry was wounded, and in great danger of being ſlain by a ſoldier of his ſon's army; but crying out, "I A.D. 1265.

[98] T. Wykes, p. 69. M. Paris, p. 672. Annal. Waverlien. p. 219. [99] W. Hemming, p. 585. M. Paris, p. 672.

"am

A.D.1265. "am Henry of Wincheſter, thy ſovereign; don't "kill me," he was known, and conducted to a place of ſafety [100]. The Welſh troops in Leiceſter's army were the firſt who turned their backs; but even after their flight, his other forces for ſome time maintained their ground, until the earl himſelf, and his ſon Henry Montfort, were ſlain; which put an end to the fierce diſpute: and prince Edward obtained a moſt glorious and complete victory near Eveſham, on the 4th Auguſt A. D. 1265. Beſides the earl of Leiceſter and his ſon Henry, many other barons of that party were killed; Guy de Montfort, another of Leiceſter's ſons, and ſeveral other barons, were taken priſoners [101].

Character of the earl of Leiceſter.

Thus fell Simon de Montfort, the great earl of Leiceſter, who raiſed himſelf to a degree of greatneſs hardly inferior to royalty, and of wealth ſuperior to that of ſome of our monarchs. Nothing is more difficult than to form a juſt idea of the real character of this illuſtrious perſon, who was abhorred as a devil by one half of England, and adored as a ſaint and guardian angel by the other [102]. He was unqueſtionably one of the greateſt generals and politicians of his age; bold, ambitious, and enterpriſing; ever conſidered, both by friends and enemies, as the very ſoul of the party which he eſpouſed. He was fierce and

[100] W. Hemming, l. 3. c. 31. p. 586, 587.
[101] Id. ibid. M. Paris, p. 672.
[102] M. Paris, p. 672. Chron. Mailros, p. 232, &c.

clamorous

clamorous in the cauſe of liberty, till he arrived at power, which he employed in aggrandiſing and enriching his own family. But whether he did this in order to enable him to eſtabliſh the liberties of his country on a ſolid foundation, or only to gratify his own avarice and ambition, is perhaps impoſſible to be determined. A.D. 1265.

The death of the earl of Leiceſter was followed by the total ruin of his family, and deſtruction of his party. The great eſtates of the barons were confiſcated without mercy; which drove ſuch of them as had eſcaped from the fatal battle of Eveſham to deſpair. A number of theſe, under the command of Simon de Montfort; eldeſt ſon of the earl of Leiceſter, ſeized and fortified the iſle of Axholm, and ſtood upon their defence; but after a brave reſiſtance, they were obliged to ſurrender to prince Edward, and their leader, Simon de Montfort, was baniſhed the kingdom [103]. One Adam de Gurdon was at the head of another party of theſe deſperadoes in Hampſhire; and being a perſon of great ſtrength and courage, he was reduced with ſome difficulty, prince Edward having taken Adam priſoner with his own hand, after a very fierce and dangerous combat. The prince, charmed with the bravery of the man, though exerted againſt his own perſon, not only ſaved his life, but granted him his liberty: a favour which he returned by the moſt zealous and devoted ſervices [104]. The garri- A.D. 1266. Conſequences of the battle of Eveſham.

[103] W. Hemming, l. 3. c. 32. p. 587. T. Wykes, p. 73.
[104] T. Wykes, p. 76. M. Paris, p 675.

ſon

A.D.1266. ſon of the caſtle of Kennelworth was not ſo eaſily ſubdued, holding out againſt the royal army ſeveral months, and were at laſt obliged by famine to ſurrender, in November A. D. 1266 [105]. But the moſt formidable body of the remains of the late powerful and triumphant faction had taken refuge in the iſle of Ely, and made great depredation on all the neighbouring country. In order, therefore, to extinguiſh theſe ſurviving ſparks of civil diſſenſion, a parliament was held in the town of Kennelworth, during the ſiege of the caſtle. In this parliament more moderate counſels prevailed, and certain commiſſioners were appointed to compound with the rebellious barons. Many of the diſinherited, as they were then called, made their compoſitions, and were reſtored to their eſtates [106]. But the rebels in the iſle of Ely, truſting to their own ſtrength and that of the place, ſtill continued to hold out.

A.D.1267. The earl of Glouceſter diſcontented. In order to their reduction, the king held a parliament at St. Edmondſbury on the 10th February A. D. 1267 [107]. But the earl of Glouceſter, who had contributed ſo much to the deliverance of prince Edward, to the deſtruction of Leiceſter, and to the reſtoration of the king to his liberty and authority, refuſed to attend that parliament. This great nobleman, diſguſted at the ſeverities exerciſed towards the diſinherited barons, and with the little regard that was paid to the ſolemn promiſes

[105] T. Wykes, p. 78. [106] This act of parliament is called *dictum de Kennelworth*. M. Paris, p. 675. [107] T. Wykes, p. 78.

which

which had been made to him by the prince before the battle of Eveſham, had retired in diſcontent to his own eſtate; and the meſſengers who were ſent to him by the parliament, to invite him to that aſſembly, found him buſy in raiſing an army. He gave theſe meſſengers the ſtrongeſt aſſurances, that theſe preparations were deſigned againſt his enemy Mortimer; and even put into their hands a declaration, under his own ſeal, that he never would bear arms againſt the king: with which declaration the king and parliament were ſatisfied; a ſupply was granted, and an army raiſed for the reduction of the iſle of Ely [108]. A.D. 1267.

When the king was engaged in this expedition againſt Ely, and prince Edward was employed in reducing ſome of the diſinherited barons in the north, the earl of Glouceſter marched ſuddenly with his army to London, into which he was received without oppoſition. The city of London had been the chief ſupport of the Leiceſtrian party; and the intemperate zeal of Fitz-Richard the mayor, and the lower rank of citizens, for that party, had driven them to commit many cruel outrages on the royaliſts, and to offer many indignities to the royal family. For theſe enormities the city was ſeverely puniſhed after the battle of Eveſham; for which being full of reſentment and diſaffection, the earl of Glouceſter was a welcome gueſt. Here the earl publiſhed a manifeſto, declaring, that he had taken up arms, to procure more moderate terms The earl of Glouceſter enters London.

[108] T. Wykes, p. 78.

A.D. 1267. for the diſinherited, and to oblige the king and prince to keep their promiſes, of preſerving all the liberties of England [109].

Pacification. Henry was greatly alarmed with this new and dangerous inſurrection; and prince Edward arriving from the north with an army, and having joined the king, they directed their march towards London [110]. At the approach of the royal army, which was very numerous, the earl of Glouceſter made propoſals for an accommodation; and having obtained an indemnity for himſelf, his followers, and the city of London, he laid down his arms, and returned to his duty. The iſle of Ely ſurrendered on the 25th of July A. D. 1267, by which a period was put to the civil wars and diſſenſions with which England had been ſo long diſtracted. This happy event was chiefly owing to the defection of the earl of Glouceſter from the Leiceſtrian party, and to the wiſdom, valour, and activity of prince Edward.

Scotland and Wales. The courts of England and Scotland had now for many years lived in the moſt cordial friendſhip with one another, the two royal families being united, by the marriage of king Henry's ſiſter Joan to Alexander II. king of Scots, and of his daughter Margaret to Alexander III. Even the national antipathy between the two kingdoms was in a great meaſure extinguiſhed by an almoſt uninterrupted peace of half a century. The Engliſh in this reign did not live in the ſame harmony with their neigh-

109 Rymeri Fœdera, t. 1. p. 41. T. Wykes, p. 81.
110 Chron. Dunſt. p. 394, 395. T. Wykes, p. 79.

bours

bours of Wales, whoſe princes bore with great impatience the ſuperiority of the crown of England over them and their country, and made frequent attempts to throw it off. But all theſe attempts were unſucceſsful, and ended in freſh ſubmiſſions to a power with which they were unable to contend. In the late civil wars Lewellyn prince of Wales warmly eſpouſed the party of Leiceſter and the barons, and at length ſhared in the conſequences of their defeat: for immediately after the ſurrender of the iſle of Ely the royal army marched into Wales, which obliged Lewellyn to renew his homage and fealty to Henry, and to pay him beſides the ſum of twenty-five thouſand marks [111]. A.D.1267.

By the ſubmiſſion of the Welſh, England was reſtored to a ſtate of perfect tranquillity; but the rage of civil diſcord was no ſooner extinguiſhed, than the fooliſh and pernicious ſpirit of croiſading revived: for Henry having aſſembled his parliament in April A. D. 1268, at Northampton, both the king, and Ottobon, the pope's legate, warmly recommended a new expedition for the recovery of the Holy Land; and prince Edward, with ſeveral great barons, many knights, and a great multitude of common people, aſſumed the croſs [112]. While preparations were making for this expedition, another parliament was held at Marleborough, in November, in which ſeveral good laws were made, which are well known by the name of *the Statutes of Marleborough* [113]. A.D.1268. Croiſade.

[111] T. Wykes, p. 84.
[112] Ann. Waverly, p. 224.
[113] T. Wykes, p. 85, 86.

A.D. 1270. Prince Edward's expedition to the Holy Land.

After two years had been ſpent in preparations, prince Edward embarked at Portſmouth, in May A. D. 1270, to join the king of France at Tunis [114]; but that great and good king Lewis IX. dying there of the plague, and the French army returning home, the prince was ſo reſolved on this romantic expedition, that he proceeded to Paleſtine with his own little army. There this brave prince gave many proofs of his undaunted courage and military ſkill, and ſo much alarmed the Saracens, that an aſſaſſin was employed to murder him, who was killed in making the attempt, but not till he had wounded the prince in the arm with a poiſoned knife, by which his life was in great danger [115].

A.D. 1272. Death of Henry III.

While prince Edward was gathering barren laurels, and encountering real dangers in the Holy Land, his family, and his native country, ſtood much in need of his preſence. In this interval the royal family ſuſtained two great loſſes, by the death of Henry de Almaine, and of his father, the king of the Romans: the former being baſely murdered at Viterbo, in Italy, by his two exiled couſins, Guy and Simon de Montfort [116]; and the latter dying of grief for the loſs of his ſon, at Berkhamſtead, 2d April A. D. 1272. King Henry, worn out by age and infirmities, was quite unequal to the taſk of government, which under his feeble adminiſtration became utterly contemptible. The great barons oppreſſed the people at their pleaſure, the highways

[114] M. Weſt. p. 400.

[115] M. Paris, p. 678. T. Wykes, p. 97. Chron. Mailros, p. 242, &c. [116] M. Weſt. p. 400. T. Wykes, p. 95.

were

were infeſted by robbers, and the inhabitants of London, and ſome other cities, became very riotous and diſorderly. As the king was returning from Norwich, where he had been ſuppreſſing one of theſe riots, he was taken ill at St. Edmundſbury, from whence being conveyed to Weſtminſter by eaſy journies, he there died, on the 16th November A. D. 1272, in the ſixty-fifth year of his age, and the fifty-ſeventh of his reign [117]. A.D. 1272.

Character of Henry III.

Henry III. ſurnamed *of Wincheſter*, was in his perſon of middle ſtature, of a robuſt conſtitution, but unpleaſing countenance; his left eye-brow hanging down, and almoſt covering his eye [118]. This prince was certainly not poſſeſſed of great intellectual abilities, much leſs of true wiſdom, and the right art of governing; yet his underſtanding does not ſeem to have been remarkably defective, but had unhappily taken a turn towards low diſhoneſt cunning. As the ends which he had in view were often bad, and ſuch as could not be openly avowed, he endeavoured to attain them by the winding ways of treachery and deceit. Some of Henry's repartees are preſerved in hiſtory, which do not beſpeak him to have been that ſimple fool he is often repreſented. When the archbiſhop of Canterbury, with the biſhops of Wincheſter, Saliſbury, and Carliſle, were ſent by parliament in 1253, to preſent a very ſtrong remonſtrance againſt uncanonical and forced elections to vacant ſees;

[117] M. Weſt. p. 401. T. Wykes, p. 98.
[118] M. Paris, p. 680.

A.D.1272. "It is true," replied he, "I have been ſomewhat "faulty in that particular: I obtruded you, my "lord of Canterbury, upon your ſee: I was obliged "to employ both entreaties and menaces, my "lord of Wincheſter, to get you elected, when "you ſhould have been rather ſent to ſchool: my "proceedings were indeed very irregular and vio- "lent, my lords of Saliſbury and Carliſle, when I "raiſed you from the loweſt ſtations to your pre- "ſent dignities. It will become you therefore, my "lords, to ſet an example of reformation, by re- "ſigning your preſent benefices, and try to ob- "tain preferment in a more regular manner[119]." But this prince was much more defective in perſonal courage than in underſtanding; and, as appears from the whole courſe of his hiſtory, as well as from many anecdotes, was of a very cowardly and timorous nature. In the year 1258, when the royal authority was much eclipſed, and the earl of Leiceſter was in his glory, the king, in going to the tower by water, was overtaken in a ſtorm of thunder and lightning, with which he was greatly terrified, and ordered his barge to be put a-ſhore at the firſt landing-place. But being met by the earl of Leiceſter at his landing, his terrors redoubled, and he exhibited all the marks of the greateſt conſternation in his countenance, which made the earl obſerve, that the ſtorm was now over, and he had no further reaſon to be afraid; to which the king replied, "I am indeed beyond meaſure afraid of thunder

[119] M. Paris, p. 579.

"and

" and lightning; but, by God's head, I fear thee A.D.1272.
" more than all the thunder in the univerſe [120]."
Henry was ſtill more deſtitute of the noble virtues of ſincerity in making, and fidelity in obſerving, his engagements, than he was of courage. Whenever he was hard puſhed by the diſcontented barons, he ſubmitted to any terms they thought fit to preſcribe, and confirmed them by all the moſt awful oaths and ſolemnities they could deviſe; but the moment he thought he could do it with ſafety, he violated all his promiſes and oaths without heſitation, ſatisfying himſelf with the abſolution of his good friend the pope, which he eaſily obtained. This wicked prevarication was not more odious than it was pernicious to his affairs, and obliged the barons to proceed to much greater extremities than otherwiſe they would have done, plainly perceiving that nothing could make him keep his promiſes, but putting it out of his power to break them. But the moſt ſingular feature in this prince's character was his incorrigible partiality and affection to foreigners, which attended him through his whole life, and occaſioned infinite vexations to himſelf and his ſubjects. No ſooner was one ſet of theſe foreign favourites driven from the royal preſence, by attacks which ſhook the throne itſelf, than others took their place, and were cheriſhed with equal fondneſs, and diſplaced with equal difficulties and dangers. It is highly probable, that theſe foreigners, having their fortunes to make, were much more

[120] M. Paris, p. 656.

A.D. 1272. ſupple and inſinuating, and more ready to comply with all his humours, than the Engliſh barons, conſcious of their own power and importance. The piety of this prince is much extolled by the monkiſh writers of thoſe times [121]. He was no doubt a very uſeful and liberal ſon to his holy father the pope, whom he aſſiſted with all his might in fleecing his unhappy ſubjects. He was alſo a moſt devout worſhipper of ruſty nails and rotten bones, particularly thoſe of his favourite, Saint Edward the Confeſſor, which he placed in a ſhrine of gold, adorned with precious ſtones [122]. One of the moſt commendable parts of this prince's character is hardly ever mentioned by our hiſtorians, his love of the arts; for the encouragement of which he expended great ſums of money [123]. It muſt further be owned, that he was a very warm and generous, though not a very conſtant friend, a faithful huſband, and an affectionate parent.

His children. Henry III. left two ſons; Edward his ſucceſſor, and Edmund ſurnamed *Crouch-back*, titular king of Sicily, and earl of Lancaſter, Leiceſter, and Derby, and high ſteward of England; and two daughters; Margaret, married to Alexander III. king of Scots, and Beatrix, married to John duke of Britanny [124].

Hiſtory of Scotland. As Alexander II. king of Scotland had been induced to enter into the confederacy with prince

[121] Erat beſtialis homo, ſed religioſus. Chron. Mailros, p. 242. M. Paris, p. 680. [122] T. Wykes, p. 88.
[123] See chap. 4 of this book. [124] M. Paris, p. 679.

Lewis

Lewis of France, and the revolted barons, by the A.D. 1217. Alexander II. ſpect of obtaining poſſeſſion of the three northern counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, and Weſtmorland; as ſoon as that proſpect vaniſhed, by the defeat of the confederates at Lincoln, 25th May A. D. 1217, he began to think of making peace with the young king Henry III. which, after ſome time ſpent in negotiation, was concluded [125]. By one article of this treaty, it was ſtipulated, that the king of Scotland ſhould marry the princeſs Joan, the eldeſt ſiſter of the king of England; and their nuptials (after ſome delays, occaſioned by the detention of the princeſs in France) were celebrated 25th June A. D. 1221 [126].

This peace and marriage put a ſtop to all hoſtilities between the two nations for ſeveral years, and introduced a friendly intercourſe between the two royal families, now ſo nearly related. The king and queen of Scotland made frequent viſits to the court of England; where they were nobly entertained, and received many valuable proofs of friendſhip from their royal brother [127]. This external tranquillity gave Alexander leiſure to ſuppreſs a dangerous inſurrection in Argyle, A. D. 1222, and to puniſh the people of Caithneſs for the murder of their biſhop, whom they had burnt to death in his own houſe [128]. The internal peace A.D. 1221. Peace with England.

125 M. Paris, p. 204. Fœd. tom. 1. p. 224. Chron. Mel. p. 155.
126 M. Paris, p. 216. Rym. Fœd. tom. 1. p. 240.
127 Ford. l. 9. c. 37. M. Paris, p. 250. Chron. Mel. p. 203. Rym. Fœd. t. 1. p. 370. 379.
128 Ford. l. 9. c. 34. 37.

of

A.D.1221. of the kingdom was again diſturbed, A. D. 1229, by Gilleſcop, a turbulent baron in the north, who was at laſt defeated and ſlain [129].

Diſputes with Henry. Though the intimate relation and pacific diſpoſitions of the two Britiſh monarchs prevented an open rupture, there were ſtill ſeveral ſubjects of diſpute between them, which now and then occaſioned ſome diſquiet. On the one hand, Henry ſometimes diſcovered a diſpoſition to revive the claim of homage from the king of Scotland, which had been given up by Richard I.; and on the other hand, Alexander ſtill inſiſted on his claim to the three northern counties of England [130]. This diſpute was determined, A. D. 1237, by the mediation of the pope's legate; and Alexander accepted of certain lands in Northumberland, and Cumberland, in lieu of all his claims [131].

Death of the queen. Joan queen of Scotland, who had contributed ſo much to the peace of her family and her country, died 4th March A. D. 1238, without having had any children, and Alexander married a French lady, Mary, daughter of Ingelram de Couci, 15th May A. D. 1239 [132].

Quarrel with England prevented. Though the friendſhip between the two monarchs was not immediately diſſolved when the great bond of union was removed, yet it gradually declined, and national jealouſies revived,

[129] Ford. l. 9. c. 47.

[130] Rym. Fœd. t. 1. p. 334, 335, 374, &c.

[131] See Lord Hailes's moſt accurate Annals of Scotland, vol. 1. p. 133.

[132] Chron. Mel. p. 203, 204.

After ſome time ſpent in mutual complaints and accuſations, both princes raiſed armies and prepared for war, A. D. 1244 [133]. But that was happily prevented, and a peace concluded, by the mediation of Richard earl of Cornwall and other Engliſh barons, and Alexander engaged to live in amity with England, and not to aſſiſt her enemies, unleſs the Engliſh did him ſome wrong [134]. A.D.1244.

When Alexander was engaged in an expedition againſt Angus of Argyle, who refuſed to do homage for certain iſlands, he was ſeized with a fever, of which he died in the ſmall iſle of Kirarry, 8th July A. D. 1249, in the fifty-firſt year of his age, and thirty-fifth of his reign [135]. He was one of the wiſeſt and beſt princes that ever filled the throne of Scotland: and though he maintained the independency of his crown abroad, and the authority of his government at home, with the greateſt ſteadineſs and ſpirit; yet in doing both he acted with ſo much temper and integrity, "that "(to uſe the words of a contemporary Engliſh "hiſtorian) he was juſtly beloved by all the peo- "ple of England, as well as by his own ſub- "jects [136]. He was ſucceeded by his only ſon, of the ſame name, a child in the eighth year of his age. Death and character of Alexander II.

Alexander III. was both knighted and crowned by the biſhop of St. Andrew's, at Scoon, 13th Acceſſion of Alexander III.

[133] M. Paris, p. 432. 436. [134] Rym. Fœd. tom. 1. p. 429.
[135] M. Paris, p. 515, 516. Chron. Mailros, p. 219.
[136] M. Paris, p. 436.

July,

A.D.1244. July, only five days after his father's death [137]. This precipitation was uſed to prevent the king of England from interfering in theſe ceremonies.

His marriage. Alexander had been betrothed, A. D. 1242, when he was only a year old, to Margaret eldeſt daughter of Henry III. a princeſs about the ſame age; and their nuptials were celebrated with great

A.D.1251. pomp, at York, 26th December A. D. 1251 [138]. On that occaſion Alexander did homage to Henry for his poſſeſſions in England; but Henry, taking advantage of his youth, and other circumſtances, required him to do homage to him for his crown and kingdom of Scotland. To this unſeaſonable and ungenerous requiſition, Alexander, by the advice of his council, returned this prudent anſwer, "That he had been invited to York to "marry the princeſs of England, not to treat of "ſtate affairs; and that he could not take a ſtep "of ſo much importance, without conſulting his "parliament [139]."

Civil broils. Scotland was a ſcene of much diſquiet, and of various revolutions, during the minority of Alexander III. The great men were divided into two parties, the one compoſed of the powerful family of the Comyns, and their friends; the other of the reſt of the nobility and their followers. Robert de Ros and John de Baliol, two of the Comyn party, were regents, and had the young king and queen in their hands, which gave them a great

[137] Ford. l. 10. c. 1. [138] M. Paris, p. 395. 554.
[139] Id. p. 554, 555.

advan-

advantage over their rivals[140]. They kept their sovereign and his consort in a kind of confinement in the castle of Edinburgh, without allowing them to cohabit; of which, and some other discourtesies, the queen made bitter complaints. A.D.1251.

The king of England, being uncle to the king, and father to the queen of Scots, could not be an unconcerned spectator of those transactions. Listening to the complaints of his daughter against the Comyns, he embraced the interests of the opposite party, who had the good fortune to take the castle of Edinburgh by surprise, and set the king and queen at liberty[141]. To support them, Henry came with an army to the borders of Scotland; but at the same time, August 25, A. D. 1255, he emitted a proclamation, declaring, that he did not design to attempt any thing against the rights and liberties of that kingdom[142]. He was visited by the king and queen of Scotland, who spent some time with him, first at Werk castle, and afterwards at Roxburgh. At this last place a plan for the government of Scotland, during the king's minority, was settled, 20th September. By this plan the Comyns and their friends were dismissed from the council, and deprived of all their places, and the administration was committed to fifteen of the chiefs of the opposite party[143]. King of England interposes. A.D.1255.

[140] M. Paris, p. 609. Chron. Dunst. p. 317.
[141] Chron. Mailros, p. 220.
[142] Rym. Fœd. tom. 1. p. 562. [143] Id. ibid. p. 566, 567.

The

A.D.1255. Alexander visits the court of England.

The tranquillity of their kingdom being thus reſtored, the young king and queen, attended by a retinue of 300 horſe, viſited the court of England in Auguſt A. D. 1256; and on September 2, Alexander obtained a grant of the earldom of Huntingdon from his father-in-law [144]. As a further mark of his affection, Henry iſſued orders to all his military tenants in the five northern counties, to aſſiſt the king of Scotland with all their forces [145].

Broils renewed.

The peace of Scotland was of ſhort duration. Gamelin, late chancellor, and biſhop-elect of St. Andrew's, a zealous friend of the Comyns, was conſecrated by William de Bondington biſhop of Claſgow, who was of the ſame party, in direct oppoſition to an injunction of thoſe in power. For this act of diſobedience, the biſhop of St. Andrew's was outlawed, and the revenues of his ſee were ſeized. He flew to Rome, and complained to the pope, who eſpouſed his cauſe ſo warmly, that he excommunicated all his enemies. The Comyns and their party, taking advantage of this, exclaimed loudly, that the king and government were in the hands of excommunicated perſons; and that the kingdom was in danger of being laid under an interdict. Not contented with clamours, they flew to arms, and ſeized the king and queen at Kinroſs. They alſo made an alliance with Lewellyn prince of Wales, who was then (1257) at war with England, and,

[144] M. Paris, p. 616. [145] Rym. Fœd. tom. 1. p. 605.

carrying

carrying the young king with them, they marched their army to the borders. But Henry having raiſed an army in the north, a negotiation was ſet on foot, which produced a kind of coalition of parties, and a regency was formed, conſiſting of ten perſons, four of each party, with the queen-dowager and her ſecond huſband, John de Brienne [146]. A.D. 1257.

Though this coalition of parties was probably not very ſincere, it produced an external calm, which gave the king and queen of Scotland an opportunity of viſiting the court of England, where the queen was delivered of a daughter, named *Margaret*, A. D. 1260 [147]. Peace reſtored.

Alexander having now arrived at full age, took the reins of government into his own hands, and conducted the affairs both of peace and war with prudence and courage. It was not long before his courage was put to the trial. Haco king of Norway, having collected a fleet of one hundred and ſixty ſhips, embarked with a numerous army and ſailed towards Scotland, in ſummer, A. D. 1263, moſt probably with an intention to recover ſuch of the weſtern iſles as had formerly belonged to his crown, but had been wreſted from it by the Scots. He made himſelf maſter of the iſlands of Arran and Bute, and afterwards landed his army on the coaſt of Cunningham. By this Norwegian invaſion.

[146] Chron. Mailros, p. 221. M. Paris, p. 644. Rym. Fœd. tom. 1. p. 670.

[147] Rym. Fœd. tom. 1. p. 713. Chron. Mailros, p. 223.

time

A.D.1257. time Alexander had raiſed an army, with which he attacked the bold invaders of his country, at Largs, October 2. The battle was fierce and bloody; but victory at laſt declaring for the Scots, the greateſt part of the invading army fell in the action or in the purſuit. To complete the misfortunes of the Norwegians, their fleet was diſſipated, and many of their ſhips wrecked, by a ſtorm, the day after the battle. Haco reached the Orkneys, where he landed, and ſoon after died, as it is ſaid, of a broken heart [148]. This defeat of the Norwegians was followed by the reduction of almoſt all the weſtern iſlands, and the ſubmiſſion of Magnus king of Man, to hold his country of Alexander, and to furniſh him with ten gallies, when demanded [149].

A.D.1264. Alexander ſends aid to Henry III.

Alexander, now enjoying perfect tranquillity at home, ſent a choice body of his ſubjects, under the conduct of John Comyn, John Baliol, and Robert Bruce, to the aſſiſtance of his father-in-law Henry III. againſt his revolted barons. Theſe troops behaved bravely, and ſuffered much at the battle of Lewes: two of their leaders, John Comyn and Robert Bruce, were made priſoners, but ſoon obtained their liberty [150].

Weſtern iſles yielded to Scotland.

Magnus king of Norway, diſcouraged by the diſaſter which had befallen his father, yielded all his rights to the weſtern iſlands and the iſle of

[148] Torfæi. Hiſt. Norveg. 4. 47. Ford. l. 10. c. 17. Chron. Mailros, p. 224. [149] Ford. l. 10. c. 18.
[150] M. Paris, p. 669. Hemming. p. 581. Knyght. col. 2447.

Man

Man (A. D. 1266) to the crown of Scotland, for the ſum of 4000 marks, to be paid in four years, and a quit-rent of 100 marks yearly[151]. The Norwegians ſtill retained the Orkney and Shetland iſlands. A.D.1257.

Scotland enjoyed ſo perfect a peace during the reſt of the reign of Alexander III. which falls within this period, that it happily affords few materials for hiſtory. It was no ſmall addition to the felicity of this good prince, that his queen was delivered of one ſon, who was named *Alexander*, A. D. 1263, and of another, who was named *David*, A. D. 1270[152]. Great tranquillity.

SECTION II.

The civil and military hiſtory of Britain, from the death of Henry III. A. D. *1272, to the death of Edward* I. A. D. 1307.

THOUGH Edward I. eldeſt ſon of the late king, was at a diſtance from England when his father died, the greatneſs of his character ſecured his peaceable ſucceſſion, and perſons of all ranks ſwore fealty to him with much alacrity[1]. In an aſſembly of the nobility held on the day after the royal funeral, the archbiſhop of York, Acceſſion of Edward I.

[151] Torfæi Hiſt. Norveg. vol. 4. p. 343.
[152] Chron. Mailros, p. 225. Boece, l. 13.
[1] Rymeri Fœdera, t. 1. p. 888. Walſingham, p. 54. Weſtmonſt. p. 352.

A.D.1273. the earls of Cornwall and Glouceſter, were choſen regents of the kingdom; and this choice was confirmed in a more full aſſembly or parliament, in January A. D. 1273.

A.D.1274. His coronation. Edward was in Sicily, on his return from the Holy Land, when he received the news of his father's death, and of his own peaceable acceſſion. Being informed at the ſame time, of the perfect tranquillity of his dominions, he made no great haſte to take poſſeſſion of the crown. After ſpending ſome time at Rome, and other parts of Italy, he viſited the court of France, and performed his homage for the territories which he held of that crown. Having ſuppreſſed an inſurrection in Gaſcony, and ſettled ſome commercial diſputes with the earl of Flanders, he embarked for England, landed at Dover, Auguſt 2, A. D. 1274, and was crowned at Weſtminſter, on the 19th of the ſame month, together with his queen Eleanora, the amiable and affectionate companion of his travels [2].

First acts of Edward's government. As England at this time enjoyed a profound peace, Edward very wiſely ſeized that favourable opportunity of enquiring into the ſtate of the lands and revenues of the crown; and into the conduct of the ſheriffs and other officers, who had both defrauded the king and oppreſſed the people in the late reign [3]. He was at no leſs pains to reſtore the internal police of the kingdom, and

[2] T. Walſingham, p. 45, 46. T. Wykes, p. 101.
[3] Chron. Dunſt. p. 426.

the

the vigorous execution of the laws, which the late troubles and the feeble adminiſtration of Henry had rendered contemptible. By the advice of his parliament, which met at Weſtminſter in May A. D. 1275, many good laws were enacted, which have been ever ſince diſtinguiſhed by the name of the *Statutes of Weſtminſter*[4]. But it was not long before Edward was interrupted in theſe ſalutary works of peace, and involved in ſcenes of war. A.D. 1275.

The only vaſſal of the crown of England who had made any ſcruple of paying homage and ſwearing fealty to Edward at his acceſſion, was Lewellyn prince of Wales. This prince had been ſeveral times ſummoned to come to court, and perform his homage; but, without directly refuſing, he ſtill delayed to do this, under various pretences. While Edward was employed in regulating the internal ſtate of his kingdom, he winked at theſe delays; but that affair being now ſettled, he determined to bring this powerful and refractory vaſſal to obedience. The animoſity of the prince of Wales againſt Edward was much increaſed by an incident which happened about this time. Lewellyn, who had been a faithful ally and zealous friend to the great earl of Leiceſter, in the days of his proſperity, ſtill continued to cultivate the friendſhip of that family, after their baniſhment out of England, and had even entered into a contract of marriage with Eleanor de Diſpute with the prince of Wales.

[4] Coke's 2d Inſtitute, p. 156.

A.D.1276. Montfort, a daughter of that earl; but the young lady being intercepted on her paſſage from France to Wales, was detained a priſoner in the court of England [5]. When the prince was again ſummoned to come and perform his homage, he made bitter complaints of the injury which had been done him, and refuſed to comply, unleſs his bride was immediately ſet at liberty, and the king's ſon, with ſeveral noblemen, were put into his hands as hoſtages for the ſafety of his perſon. This laſt demand was thought inſolent and unreaſonable, both by Edward and the Engliſh parliament, which met after Eaſter, A.D. 1276, at Weſtminſter, to conſider of this affair. The parliament further declared, that Lewellyn had forfeited his dominions, by refuſing to do homage to his ſuperior lord; exhorted Edward to reduce him by force of arms; and for that purpoſe granted him a fifteenth of the moveables both of the clergy and laity [6].

1277. Invaſion of Wales. In conſequence of this advice and ſupply, Edward prepared in good earneſt for the conqueſt of Wales. Every thing being prepared for this expedition, in the ſpring A.D. 1277, Edward advanced towards Wales at the head of a great army; and with equal caution and courage penetrated into the heart of that country.

Peace with Wales. Lewellyn, as uſual, retired with his army into the mountains of Snowden; but here he was ſoon aſſaulted by famine, which obliged him to ſue to

5 Walſingham, p. 46, 47. T. Wykes, p. 104.
6 Ann. Waverlien. p. 231.

Edward

Edward for peace, which was granted, but on very hard terms. He agreed to pay 50,000 pounds for damages, and the expences of the war; to do homage to the crown of England, and even permit all the barons of Wales to do the ſame, except four; to give up all the country between Cheſhire and the river Conway; and to ſettle ſuitable revenues on his two brothers Roderic and David [7], who had taken ſhelter in the court of England, and implored the protection of Edward againſt their own brother [8]. A.D. 1277.

Though Lewellyn had been reduced to the neceſſity of ſubmitting to theſe ſevere conditions, which hardly left him a ſhadow of ſovereignty; Edward was not very rigorous in exacting the full performance of them. He remitted the payment of the 50,000 pounds [9]; delivered to Lewellyn his betrothed wife; aſſiſted at their marriage; and, conducting the prince to Weſtminſter, he there performed homage to Edward, according to the late treaty, on Chriſtmas day A. D. 1277, in preſence of the biſhops and barons of England [10]. Lenity of Edward.

The annals of England, in the two next years, are full of the ſevere puniſhments which were then inflicted upon the Jews for clipping the coin, and other iniquitous practices [11]. An order was iſſued to ſeize the whole of that people in one day, the 12th November A. D. 1278 [12]; and, after a very ſhort trial, two hundred and eighty of them were A.D. 1278. Puniſhment of the Jews.

[7] T. Wykes, p. 105, 106. Rymer, vol. 2. p. 88.
[8] Trivit. Ann. 1277. [9] Rymer, vol. 2. p. 92.
[10] T. Wykes, p. 1/0. [11] Walſing. p. 48.
[12] T. Wykes, p. 107.

A.D.1278. hanged in London only, and all their lands, houſes, money, and goods, to an immenſe value, were confiſcated [13].

Inquiſition into the titles of the barons.

Edward at the ſame time employed another method to fill his coffers, and increaſe the revenues of the crown; by appointing commiſſioners to examine the titles by which the barons and others held their lands. Theſe commiſſioners, by a vigorous exertion of their authority, gave great trouble and vexation to many, brought a great deal of money into the exchequer, by fines and compoſitions for defective titles, and added many eſtates to the royal demeſnes. But a ſtop was put to their career by the boldneſs of the earl of Warren; who appearing before theſe commiſſioners, and being deſired to produce the inſtruments by which he held his eſtate, drew an old ruſty ſword out of its ſcabbard: "This," ſays he, "is the inſtrument by which "my anceſtors gained their eſtate, and by which "I will keep it as long as I live." This anſwer being reported to Edward, he became ſenſible of the impropriety of puſhing this inquiſition any further, and wiſely revoked the commiſſion [14].

War with Wales.

But it was not long before Edward was called again into the fields of war, in which indeed he too much delighted. Lewellyn prince of Wales and his ſubjects were very uneaſy in that ſtate of ſubjection to which they were reduced; and this uneaſineſs was much increaſed by the inſolence of the victorious Engliſh ſettled in the conquered

[13] M. Weſt. p. 367. [14] Ann. Waverlien. p. 235.

country

country between Cheſhire and the river Conway; and by the haughtineſs of the lords marchers, who ſlighted all the complaints of the Welſh [15]. David, brother of Lewellyn, diſſatisfied with Edward, inflamed the reſentment of his brother, and exhorted him to make another brave effort to ſhake off the Engliſh yoke, and recover the ancient freedom and independence of his country. Accordingly in the ſpring A. D. 1281, the Welſh flew to arms, and made inroads upon the Engliſh territories. Their firſt attempts were crowned with ſucceſs: they took the lord Clifford priſoner, and gained ſome other ſlight advantages over the troops which were ſent to oppoſe them [16]. A.D. 1281.

Edward was not ill pleaſed with this freſh inſurrection of the Welſh, as it furniſhed him with a plauſible pretence for making a total conqueſt of their country. In order to this, he ſummoned his barons and military tenants to meet him at Worceſter about Midſummer; and having collected a great army from all parts of his dominions, he advanced towards Wales [17]. Lewellyn, unable to face ſo great a force in the open field, retired into the faſtneſſes of Snowden, whither he was followed by Edward, who ſeizing all the paſſes, reſolved once more to reduce the Welſh by famine. As he imagined this would be a work of ſome time, he gave the command of the army to Roger Morti- A.D. 1282. Conqueſt of Wales.

15 Powel's Hiſtory, p. 344, &c.
16 Walſing. p. 49. Annal. Waverlien. p. 234.
17 M. Weſt. p. 411. T. Wykes, p. 110.

A.D.1282. mer, and, retiring to the caſtle of Rudhlan, quietly waited the event. But the affair was brought to a ſpeedier iſſue than he expected: for the Welſh having defeated a ſmall party of the Engliſh who had raſhly ventured over from the iſle of Angleſey on a bridge of boats, were ſo much elated with this trifling ſucceſs, that they left their faſtneſſes, and attacked the Engliſh in the open plain. They paid very dear for their preſumption; for they received a total defeat, on the 11th December A.D. 1282, Lewellyn himſelf, and two thouſand of his men, being left dead on the field of battle[18]. Prince David made his eſcape, and ſkulked about the country for ſome time in various diſguiſes; but being betrayed and taken priſoner, he was conducted to Shrewſbury, tried by his peers (probably as earl of Derby), condemned and executed as a
A.D.1283. traitor[19]. His head (with that of his brother) was expoſed to public view on the walls of the tower of London, and his quarters ſent to York, Briſtol, Northampton, and Wincheſter. In this cruel manner did Edward ſhed the blood of the laſt of the ancient ſovereigns of Wales, derived from ſo long a line of princes[20].

Effects of that conqueſt. After this deciſive victory, and the death of their princes, the Welſh made no further reſiſtance; but tamely, though not without much inward ſorrow

18 Powell's Hiſt. Wales. 19 T. Wykes, p. 111.
20 Knyghton, col. 2465. T. Walſing. p. 50, 51, 52. Chron. Triver. an. 1281, 82, 83. Annal. Waverlien. p. 235, &c. Hemingford, t. 1. p. 7. 13.

and

and reluctance, ſubmitted to the Engliſh yoke; A.D. 1283.
and an end was put to that long and bloody quarrel between the Engliſh and ancient Britons, which had ſubſiſted more than eight centuries. This, however ſhocking it was to the brave and independent ſpirits of the Welſh, was a very happy event, as it put a ſtop to thoſe torrents of blood, and ſcenes of deſolation, occaſioned by the mutual enmity of the two nations; and as it made way for the introduction of the Engliſh laws, learning, and arts, into Wales. Some years after the conqueſt of Wales, Edward beſtowed the title of *Prince of Wales* on his eldeſt ſon Edward, which hath ever ſince been the title of the eldeſt ſons of the kings of England.

Peace.

The final reduction of Wales produced a profound peace, which continued ſeveral years without the leaſt interruption, and gave Edward leiſure to make further improvements in the laws and government of England, which will be taken notice of in their proper place [21].

Edward ſpends three years in France.

Since the acceſſion of Edward to the throne of England, he had been ſeveral times called upon to attend the kings of France as one of their vaſſals, by virtue of his territories on the continent; but being engaged at home, he had ſent excuſes; which were admitted. Being now at leiſure, and receiving a ſummons from Philip the Fair, who had lately mounted the throne of France, to come and perform his homage, and being alſo

[21] Chap. 3.

choſen

A.D.1286. choſen mediator between the competitors for the crown of Sicily, he reſolved to viſit the continent. Having appointed the earl of Pembroke regent of the kingdom, he ſet ſail for France on the 24th June, A. D. 1286 [22], attended by ſeveral Engliſh biſhops and barons. The tranſactions of Edward, during his long reſidence abroad, belong more properly to the hiſtory of his foreign dominions than to that of England. It is enough to ſay, that he was chiefly employed in proſecuting ſome claims which he had to certain territories in France, as heir to his mother Eleanor of Provence, and in putting an end, by his mediation, to the long and bloody diſpute between the houſes of Anjou and Aragon about the crown of Sicily; and that in both theſe affairs he acted with great wiſdom, honour, and ſucceſs. He was by theſe things, however, detained rather more than three years in France, and did not arrive in England till the 12th of Auguſt A. D. 1289 [23].

A.D.1289. Conſequences of the king's abſence.

Edward's long abſence from England had been attended with many inconveniencies. It had encouraged the Welſh, not yet well reconciled to the Engliſh government, to raiſe an inſurrection, which was ſuppreſſed with ſome difficulty. The kingdom was a ſcene of much violence and confuſion; particularly one Thomas Chamberlain, a gentleman of deſperate fortunes (in conjunction with ſeveral other deſperadoes), was guilty of a moſt out-

[22] M. Weſt. p. 412. [23] T. Wykes, p. 118. Hemingford, t. 1. p. 14. Annal. Waverlien. p. 239.

rageous

rageous act of villany, by ſetting fire to the town of Boſton in Lincolnſhire, in the time of a great fair, and plundering the merchants and townſmen of money and goods to an immenſe value, in the confuſion occaſioned by the fire. Chamberlain was taken and hanged; but could not be prevailed upon to diſcover any of his accomplices [24]. The very fountains of juſtice were polluted, and loud complaints were made of the corruption and venality of the judges. The king, ſoon after his return, called a parliament to examine theſe complaints; which were found to be true. Sir Thomas Weyland, the chief juſticiary, being found guilty, was baniſhed the kingdom; the other judges of both benches, of the Jews, of the foreſts, the juſtices itinerant, ſeveral ſheriffs and bailiffs, and others concerned in the adminiſtration of juſtice, being alſo found guilty, were fined, according to the degrees of their demerits, or their wealth; which fines are ſaid to have brought no leſs than one hundred thouſand marks into the royal treaſury [25]. The Jews, too, ſeem to have taken occaſion, from the king's abſence, and the venality of the judges, to puſh their exactions to a greater length than ever; for the cry againſt them was now become ſo vehement and univerſal, that the parliament aſſembled at Weſtminſter on the 14th of January A. D. 1290, came to a reſolution to baniſh the whole race of theſe greedy and uſurious Iſraelites out of the kingdom. In conſequence of A.D. 1289. A.D. 1290.

[24] Heming. vol. 1. p. 16, 17. [25] T. Wykes, p. 121.

this

A.D. 1290. this reſolution, all their real eſtates were confiſcated, and no fewer than fifteen thouſand Jews were at this time expelled from England [26].

The long peace between England and Scotland terminated.

The kingdoms of England and Scotland had continued many years in the moſt perfect peace and harmony. The two royal families, ſtrictly united by the ties of blood, had maintained a conſtant intercourſe of friendly viſits and mutual good offices;—the coin of each kingdom had been current in the other, and the merchants had enjoyed the greateſt freedom of trade in both. But this happy period of peace and harmony was now near an end, and was ſucceeded by the moſt fierce and laſting animoſities, and a long ſeries of cruel and deſtructive wars, which brought many calamities on both kingdoms. In order to diſcover the fatal ſource of theſe national animoſities and wars, it will be neceſſary to take a view of ſome events which had lately happened in Scotland.

Occaſion of this rupture.

Alexander III. king of Scots, who was killed on the 19th of March 1286, by a fall from his horſe, near Kinghorn, left no children, and but one grandchild, a female, an infant, and in a foreign country. This was Margaret, the only child of Alexander's daughter of the ſame name, late queen of Norway, the undoubted heireſs of the crown of Scotland, and recognized as ſuch by the ſtates of that kingdom, which met about three weeks after the king's death. The ſame convention of eſtates made choice of ſix noblemen to be

[26] T. Wykes, p. 122.

regents

regents of the kingdom during the abſence of their young queen, then only about three years of age [27]. A.D. 1290.

For ſome time theſe regents acted with wiſdom and unanimity, and their government gave univerſal content; but the earl of Buchan, one of the regents, dying, and the earl of Fife, another of them, being murdered, diſputes aroſe among the remaining four; and every thing tended to confuſion. Eric king of Norway, hearing of theſe diſtractions, began to be apprehenſive for the intereſts of his daughter, the queen of Scotland; and in order to ſecure to her the poſſeſſion of that crown, he applied by ambaſſadors to Edward king of England, her grand uncle, for his aſſiſtance and protection [28]. This application was very agreeable to Edward; who had already formed a ſcheme for uniting the two Britiſh kingdoms, by the marriage of his eldeſt ſon Edward with the young queen of Scots; and had even privately procured a diſpenſation from the pope for that purpoſe. Conferences were held at Saliſbury between the ambaſſadors of the king of Norway, ſome of Edward's miniſters, and plenipotentiaries from the regency of Scotland; in which all the preliminaries for the young queen's voyage into her dominions were ſettled [29].

Marriage between prince Edward and the infant queen of Scotland negotiated.

Edward, thinking all things now ripe for opening his grand ſcheme, ſent a very honourable embaſſy to the parliament of Scotland, met at Brigham, near Kelſo, on the 18th of July 1290, to

[27] Buchan. Hiſt. Scot. l. 8. p. 132. Rymeri Fœd. t. 2. p. 266. 272. 324. 327. 339.
[28] Rymeri Fœd. t. 2. p. 416.
[29] H. Boeth. p. 191. Rymeri Fœdera, vol. 2. p. 431, &c.

A.D.1290. make a formal demand of their young queen in marriage with his ſon, and with full powers to ſettle all the conditions of the marriage. The parliament of Scotland readily agreed to the marriage, as advantageous to both kingdoms; but, in ſettling the conditions, they took every poſſible precaution to preſerve the independency of their country, and to guard againſt every danger that might ariſe from ſo ſtrict an alliance with ſuch a powerful and ambitious neighbour. It was agreed, That the Scots ſhould enjoy all their ancient laws, liberties, and cuſtoms:—That in caſe Edward and Margaret ſhould die without iſſue of the body of Margaret, the kingdom of Scotland ſhould revert, free, abſolute, and independent to the next heir:—That in caſe Edward ſhould die before Margaret without iſſue by her, the body of Margaret ſhould be remitted to Scotland free and independent:—That the military tenants of the crown, and other ſubjects, ſhould not be obliged to go out of Scotland, to do homage, to ſwear fealty, to elect or to be elected to any office, or to do any ſervice that had been uſually performed in Scotland:—That the kingdom of Scotland ſhould have its chancellor, officers of ſtate, courts of juſtice, &c. as before:—That a new great ſeal ſhould be made, and kept by the chancellor, with the ordinary arms of Scotland, and the name of none but the queen of Scotland engraved upon it:—That all papers and records belonging to the crown and kingdom of Scotland, ſhould be lodged in a ſecure place within that kingdom, under the ſeals of the nobility:—That all

all parliaments called to treat of the affairs of Scotland, ſhould be held within that kingdom:—That no duties, taxes, or levies of men, ſhould be raiſed in Scotland, but ſuch as had been uſual:—That the king of England ſhould pay the pope one hundred thouſand pounds, for the uſe of the holy wars:—and, That himſelf and his dominions ſhould be excommunicated, and laid under an interdict, if he did not religiouſly obſerve all theſe articles [30]. Theſe articles were agreed to and confirmed by Edward: and as this is the firſt plan which was formed for the union of the Britiſh crowns, it is a great curioſity. The Scots in theſe times are repreſented by ſome of our hiſtorians as an ignorant and barbarous people; but it is hard to ſay what better precautions could have been taken by the wiſeſt nation, in the moſt enlightened age, for ſecuring the freedom and independency of their country. A.D. 1290.

All theſe preliminaries being ſettled to the mutual ſatisfaction of both nations, Sir Michael Scot and Sir David Weems were ſent as commiſſioners from Scotland to Norway, to receive the young queen, and conduct her into her own dominions [31]. But when all Britain was big with expectation of the arrival of this princeſs, who was to be the bond of laſting peace and union, a rumour of her death was firſt heard, and afterwards more certain intelligence was received, that ſhe had died in Orkney, where, being ſick, ſhe had landed [32]. Death of the infant queen of Scotland.

30 Rymer, vol. 2. p. 482, 483, 484.
31 Buchan. Hiſt. Scot. l. 8. p. 232.
32 M. Weſtmonſt. p. 381. W. Heming. t. 1. p. 30.

A.D.1290. Fatal conſequences of her death.

It will be difficult to find in hiſtory the death of any one perſon attended with more fatal conſequences than that of this infant queen. It diſſipated in a moment all the pleaſing hopes of peace and union, and entailed long and bloody wars upon both the Britiſh kingdoms, which brought the weakeſt of them to the very brink of ruin.

A.D.1291. Death of queen Eleanor.

Edward, in the courſe of the late negotiations, had gained a very powerful party in Scotland, and, amongſt others, Fraſer, biſhop of St. Andrew's, one of the regents, from whom he received the earlieſt intelligence of the young queen's death, with an advice to raiſe an army and approach the borders. He readily complied with this advice, which was ſo agreeable to his own ſecret views. But as he was conducting his army towards Scotland, he met with a very grievous affliction by the death of his beloved queen Eleanor, the faithful partner of all his cares and joys, and companion of all his travels. Ambition on this occaſion yielded to tenderneſs and grief: he ſuſpended his expedition, to accompany the remains of his queen, from Grantham in Lincolnſhire, where ſhe died, to Weſtminſter, where ſhe was interred with great funeral pomp [33].

Edward choſen judge in the diſpute about the crown of Scotland.

In the mean time Scotland was a ſcene of great confuſion. The two chief competitors for the crown, John Baliol and Robert Bruce, were eagerly employed in ſtrengthening their parties and preparing their forces to aſſert their claims. It

33 M. Weſtmonſt. p. 381. T. Walſing. p. 54, 55.

ſoon

ſoon became viſible to all the world, that this diſ- A.D.1291.
pute could not be terminated within the kingdom without a fierce and deſtructive civil war. To avoid this the regents, the ſtates, and even the competitors, agreed to refer this great controverſy to Edward king of England; who had always profeſſed the greateſt reſpect and affection for the Scotch nation; who had lately acquitted himſelf with ſo much honour as an umpire between the competitors for the crown of Sicily; and who had power ſufficient to put his ſentence in execution. The biſhop of St. Andrew's was ſent into England, to inform Edward of this reference, and intreat him to take upon him the office of an umpire between the competitors for the crown of Scotland [34].

This office Edward accepted with the greateſt pleaſure, and managed with the moſt admirable policy; never diſcloſing his deſigns till he was almoſt ſecure of their ſucceſs, and through the whole proceedings obſerving all the external ſhews and forms of juſtice, however much the eſſentials of it were violated. Edward's artful conduct.

In conſequence of his office of arbitrator, he ſummoned the ſtates of Scotland, and the competitors for the crown, to meet him at Norham, a ſmall town on the ſouth banks of the Tweed, a few miles from Berwick; and that they might not heſitate at paſſing that river, he made a declaration, Aſſembly at Norham.

34 Buchanan, l. 8. p. 134. Fordun, l. 11. c. 42. W. Heming. t. 1. p. 32, 33.

A.D.1291. that it ſhould not be drawn into precedent[35]. Edward came to the place of meeting, attended by a ſplendid court and powerful army.

Edward claims the ſuperiority of Scotland.

When all were aſſembled, on the 10th of May A. D. 1291, Roger Brabazon, chief juſticiary of England, made a ſpeech to the ſtates of Scotland; in which, after a very ſmooth exordium, he told them, that king Edward was come to determine the great cauſe concerning the crown of Scotland, in virtue of his right of ſuperiority and direct dominion over that kingdom, and required that this right ſhould be immediately recogniſed, and ſolemnly acknowledged, by the ſtates, as the firſt ſtep to be taken. The ſtates, greatly aſtoniſhed at this unexpected demand, aſked ſome time to conſider of it, and were allowed till the next day.

Grounds of that claim.

Edward had been at great pains in collecting arguments in ſupport of his pretenſions to the ſuperiority over Scotland, which he hoped would ſoon draw after it the poſſeſſion of that kingdom. A paper, containing theſe arguments, was read to the aſſembly at Norham. But after all the pains which he had taken, that paper hath appeared to many a very weak performance, more like the work of a chicaning attorney than of a great king. It conſiſts chiefly of ſcraps out of abbey chronicles, and other Engliſh hiſtories, many of them very unfairly quoted, enumerating all the defeats which the Scots had received from the

[35] Rymer, vol. 2. p. 528. Fordun, l. 11. c. 19.

Engliſh,

Engliſh, and all the diſadvantageous treaties which they had made with them; together with a minute recapitulation of all the homages which had been paid by the kings of Scotland to the kings of England; though all the world knew, that theſe homages had been paid for the lands which the Scotch kings poſſeſſed or claimed in England, and not for the kingdom of Scotland. Edward was not even aſhamed to mention the legendary ſtories of Brute and his ſons, and of king Athelſtan's cutting a yard deep with his ſword into a rock near Dunbar, by the aſſiſtance of his good friend St. John of Beverley, as proofs of the ſuperiority of the kings of England over Scotland [36]. He inſiſted at great length on the homage performed by William the Lion, king of Scots (when he was a priſoner), to Henry II. for the whole kingdom of Scotland, as one condition of his being ſet at liberty; but, with the greateſt diſingenuity, he took no notice of the renunciation of that homage and ſuperiority granted by Richard I. to the ſame king William [37]. It had been eaſy for the ſtates of Scotland to have anſwered theſe weak arguments, if they had been at liberty; but they were entirely in the power of Edward; and therefore, at the meeting on the 11th of May, they earneſtly requeſted a longer delay, that they might have an opportunity of conſulting with the other biſhops A.D. 1291.

[36] Walſing. p. 81. Knyghton, col. 2484, &c.

[37] Prynne, vol. 3, p. 489. Rymer. Fœd. t. 2. p. 559. Walſing. p. 55, 56.

A.D.1291. and barons who were abſent, about a matter of ſo great importance. With much difficulty they obtained a delay of three weeks; and Edward appointed them to meet him again at the ſame place on the 2d day of June.

Edward's ſuperiority acknowledged.

In the mean time Edward was not idle, but employed every method in his power to ſtrengthen his party in Scotland, and both by threats and promiſes to bring as many as poſſible to acknowledge his ſuperiority[39]. According to appointment, the guardians of Scotland, with the competitors for the crown, and many barons and prelates, met, on the 2d of June, in a plain oppoſite to the caſtle of Norham, where Edward then lay. The biſhop of Bath and Wells, chancellor of England, was ſent by Edward to repreſent him in that meeting, and report the reſult of their deliberations. Some of the Scots barons repreſented, that the queſtion concerning the ſuperiority of England could not properly be determined until Scotland had a king, his honour and intereſt being ſo much concerned[39]. But the competitors for the crown, afraid of offending Edward, by diſputing a point which they ſaw he was reſolved to carry, conſented to acknowledge the ſuperiority of the crown of England over the crown and kingdom of Scotland; and, by their influence and example, brought the reſt of the ſtates to acknowledge the ſame, or to remain ſilent[40]. Edward was not even contented with this acknowledgment, but obliged all the

[39] Hemingford, vol. 1. p. 33. [39] Walſing. p. 56.
[40] Rymer, vol. 2. p. 548.

competitors to give him letters-patent, under their hands and ſeals, owning his ſuperiority, and promiſing to ſubmit to his deciſion [41]. Thus did Edward, by his power and policy, gain this great point, on which his heart was very much ſet, and with which he was greatly delighted. How ſhort-ſighted is the greateſt human wiſdom! Little did this prince imagine, that, inſtead of entailing the ſuperiority of a kingdom, he was entailing nothing but a bloody and deſtructive quarrel, on his country and his poſterity. A.D. 1291.

Edward demands and obtains the caſtles.

No ſooner had Edward ſucceeded in his firſt pretenſion, than he diſcloſed another. That he might have a kingdom to beſtow on the perſon to whom it ſhould be adjudged, he demanded to have all the royal caſtles and places of ſtrength in Scotland put into his hands; and this demand was granted [42].

Competitors for the crown of Scotland.

The king of England, having thus obtained every thing he could deſire, proceeded to take ſome ſteps towards the deciſion of this great cauſe, and to determine which of the competitors had the beſt right to the crown of Scotland. Theſe competitors were now multiplied to the number of thirteen; ſome of them probably ſtirred up by Edward, in order to perplex the cauſe, and others perhaps prompted by their own vanity. The names of theſe competitors were as follows: John Baliol lord

[41] Rymer, vol. 2 p. 579. Heming. t. 1. p. 33, 34. Walſing. p. 56, 57. [42] Rymer, vol. 2. p. 556.

A.D.1291. of Galloway, Robert Bruce earl of Annandale, John Haſtings lord of Abergavenny, Florence earl of Holland, Eric king of Norway, Robert Dunbar earl of March, John Cummin earl of Badenoch, William de Veſey, Robert de Pinkeny, Nicolas de Soules, Patrick Galyhtly, Roger de Mandevile, Robert de Roſs[43]. The titles of the ten laſt of theſe competitors were either derived from baſtard branches of the royal family, or ſo trifling or ill ſupported, that they do not deſerve a place in hiſtory. The three firſt were the only perſons who had any plauſible pretenſions: and in order to underſtand the foundations of their reſpective claims, it will be neceſſary to take a view of a part of the genealogy of the royal family of Scotland.

Claims of the chief competitors.

Henry prince of Scotland died before his father king David, and left three ſons, Malcolm, William, and David. Malcolm ſucceeded his grandfather David, and died without iſſue. William ſucceeded his brother Malcolm, and left iſſue; but his poſterity were now extinct, the laſt of them being Margaret of Norway, the late infant queen of Scotland. It is undeniable, therefore, that the crown of Scotland was now devolved to the poſterity of prince David, younger brother of the kings Malcolm and William. David had been earl of Huntington in England, and left three daughters, Margaret, Iſabella, and Ada. Margaret, the eldeſt daughter of earl David, married Allan lord of Galloway, by whom ſhe had an only

[43] Walſing. p. 56.

daughter,

daughter, Dervorgilla, married to John Baliol, by whom ſhe had John Baliol, the competitor; who, according to this account, was great-grandſon to David earl of Huntington, by his eldeſt daughter. Iſabella, the ſecond daughter of earl David, married Robert Bruce, by whom ſhe had Robert Bruce, the competitor, who was grandſon to the earl of Huntington by his ſecond daughter. Ada, third and youngeſt daughter of earl David, married John Haſtings, by whom ſhe had John Haſtings, the competitor, who was grandſon to that earl by his youngeſt daughter. Haſtings could have no pretenſions to the whole ſucceſſion of David earl of Huntington while the poſterity of his two elder daughters were in being; all he pretended to therefore was, that the kingdom of Scotland ſhould be divided into three parts, and that he ſhould inherit one of them, as heir to one of the three daughters of earl David. But the kingdom being declared impartible, the pretenſions of Haſtings were excluded, and there remained only two competitors, Baliol and Bruce. Baliol claimed the whole kingdom of Scotland, as heir to David earl of Huntington by his eldeſt daughter; but Bruce pleaded, that though he was deſcended from the ſecond daughter; yet, being grandſon to the earl of Huntington, he ought to be preferred before Baliol, who was only great-grandſon to that earl. The whole controverſy, therefore, between theſe two chief competitors turned upon this hinge, Whether the more remote by one degree, deſcended from the eldeſt daughter, or the nearer A.D. 1291.

A.D.1291. by one degree, deſcended from the ſecond daughter, had the beſt title? To examine this, and every other queſtion that might ariſe in this cauſe, it was agreed, that John Baliol and Robert Bruce ſhould each name forty commiſſioners, to whom Edward might add twenty-four; which commiſſioners ſhould ſit at Berwick, and report their opinion to Edward, who was finally to judge, and pronounce ſentence [44].

A.D.1292. Determination in favour of John Baliol.

Theſe commiſſioners, appointed to examine the merits of this great cauſe, met at Berwick, for the firſt time, on the 2d of Auguſt A. D. 1292; and after three months ſpent in various meetings and deliberations, they gave their opinion in favour of Baliol. All things being now ripe, Edward appointed the 17th of November for pronouncing his award and judgment; and accordingly on that day, in the great hall of the caſtle of Berwick, in preſence of all the prelates, earls, barons, and great men, of both kingdoms, he adjudged the crown and kingdom of Scotland to John Baliol [45]. But this unhappy prince very ſoon found, that a dependent crown was no very valuable poſſeſſion.

Severity of Edward.

As ſoon as Edward had thus obtained the ſuperiority of the crown and kingdom of Scotland, he proceeded to exerciſe it with unrelenting ſeverity, and in its full extent. He obliged king John, on the day after the cauſe was determined in his favour, to perform his homage, and ſwear fealty to him and his heirs, kings of England, for the

[44] Rymer, vol. 2. p. 555. [45] Id. ibid. 598.

whole

whole kingdom of Scotland: after which he permitted him to go and take poſſeſſion of his kingdom [46]. But that his royal vaſſal might not forget his dependency by ſitting too long unmoleſted on his throne, Edward recalled him into England immediately after his coronation, and made him renew his homage and fealty at Newcaſtle, on St. Stephen's day, A. D. 1292. Beſides this, that John might not imagine that this humiliating ceremony was all he had to ſuffer, Edward haſtened to load him with freſh indignities; and in a little more than one year this ſhadow of a king received no fewer than ſix citations to appear before the king of England in his parliament, to anſwer the complaints of ſeveral private perſons on matters of no great importance [47]. A.D.1292.

In conſequence of theſe citations, king John attended Edward in his parliament after Michaelmas A. D. 1293, at Weſtminſter: and when one of the complaints againſt him came to be tried, he offered to anſwer by his attorney: but this privilege was not granted him; and, after a long ſtruggle, he was obliged to deſcend from his ſeat, and ſtand at the bar like any common delinquent [48]. Even the tame ſpirit of Baliol was roufed by this affront: he felt the deepeſt reſentment, and ſecretly reſolved to embrace the firſt favourable opportunity of throwing off a yoke which was become intolerable. It was not long before a very promiſing opportunity offered. A.D.1293. Indignity offered to the king of Scotland.

[46] Rymer. Fœd. tom. 2. p. 593. [47] Rymer, vol. 2. p. 605—616. [48] Ryley Placet. Parl. p. 152, 153.

While

A.D.1293. War with France.

While Edward was eagerly purſuing his deſigns on Scotland, an accidental ſcuffle happened between the crews of an Engliſh and French ſhip, about a ſpring of freſh water near Bayonne. This ſcuffle, in which a French ſailor was killed, being reported in both countries, became a national quarrel, and produced a kind of piratical war, trifling indeed in its beginnings, but very bloody and deſtructive in its progreſs. A fleet of two hundred Norman ſhips, ſailing towards the ſouth, ſeized all the Engliſh ſhips which they met with in their paſſage, hanged the crews, and made prize of the cargoes. The inhabitants of the cinque-ports hearing of this, fitted out a fleet of ſixty ſtout ſhips, well manned, and waited for the enemy in their return. The two fleets met; and after an obſtinate ſtruggle the Engliſh obtained a complete victory, and took or deſtroyed the greateſt part of the French fleet. As no quarter was given, the action was very bloody; and the French, it was pretended, loſt 15,000 men [49].

A.D.1294. Edward ſummoned by the king of France.

The two monarchs being otherwiſe employed, had not directly intermeddled in this quarrel; but this laſt affair was too ſerious to be overlooked. Philip the Fair, king of France, ſent ambaſſadors into England, to demand reparation; and Edward, not willing at this time to break with France, diſpatched the biſhop of London to that court, with ſeveral propoſals for an accommodation. But all theſe propoſals were rejected; and the war continuing,

49 Walſing. p. 58—60. Heming. t. 1. p. 39, 40, &c.

Philip

Philip cited the king of England, as duke of Guienne, to appear before him in his court of Paris [50]. This citation was given to Edward in November A. D. 1294, about a year after he had treated the king of Scotland with ſo great inſolence in his parliament at Weſtminſter: ſo that while he made the unhappy Baliol feel all the weight of feudal ſubjection, he was treated with the ſame haughtineſs by his own liege lord, the king of France. A.D.1294.

The king of Scotland, ſeeing every thing tending to a rupture, determined to ſeize that opportunity of throwing off the Engliſh yoke, by entering into a ſtrict alliance with the king of France. In order to this, he ſent ambaſſadors into France, to negotiate a treaty with that crown; which was ſigned and ſealed on the 23d of October A. D. 1295. By this treaty, the kings of France and Scotland agreed to aſſiſt one another againſt their common enemy the king of England, and not to make peace but by common conſent [51]. A.D.1295. Alliance between the kings of France and Scotland.

Edward did not think fit to obey the citation he had received from France; and yet, unwilling to come to an open rupture with that court, he ſent his brother Edmund earl of Lancaſter to Paris to negotiate an accommodation. Philip appeared exceedingly incenſed againſt Edward's ſubjects in Guienne (who had joined with the Engliſh), and Edward diſobeyed by the king of France.

[50] Walſing. p. 60. Triveti Annal. an. 1294.

[51] Rymer, vol. 2. p. 680. Prynne's Collect. vol. 3. p. 602, &c. Hemming. t. 1. p. 76, 77.

would

A.D. 1295. would liſten to no reaſonable terms. But when the earl of Lancaſter was ready to depart, the queen-dowager, and the reigning queen of France, interpoſed their good offices, and propoſed, that if Edward would ſurrender Guienne into the hands of Philip, in order to ſatisfy his point of honour, it ſhould be immediately reſtored. The earl of Lancaſter, with his brother's conſent, ſigned a treaty with the two queens, on theſe terms, which was confirmed by the verbal declaration of king Philip, before ſeveral witneſſes. In conſequence of this treaty, the dukedom of Guienne was ſurrendered to the conſtable de Niſle, who took poſſeſſion of it in the name of the king of France. But when the earl of Lancaſter demanded the reſtoration of that dukedom, according to the treaty with the two queens, he received a flat denial. Edward was again ſummoned to appear before Philip in his court at Paris; and upon his not appearing, the court declared, he had forfeited Guienne; which was accordingly confiſcated [52]. Thus Edward, who had uſed ſo many artifices to gain the ſuperiority of Scotland, loſt Guienne, his undoubted property, by a ſhameful fraud.

Edward prepares for war.

Though Edward was both aſhamed and enraged to be thus outwitted by the court of France, he did not take any haſty ſtep, but acted with his uſual prudence. His firſt care was to collect money to defray the expences of a war with France and Scot-

[52] Rymer, vol. 2. p. 620, &c. Walſing. p. 61. Heming. t. 1. p. 41, 42.

land,

land, which he ſaw was unavoidable. In order to this, he ſeized the large ſums of money which had been collected for the holy war, and were depoſited in ſeveral monaſteries [53]; and his parliaments granted him very large ſupplies. At one time the clergy granted him one half, the merchants one ſixth, and the reſt of the laity a tenth, of all their moveables [54]. Beſides all this, he violently ſeized all the wool and hides which were ready for exportation, promiſing to pay the owners at a convenient time. Edward being, by theſe and various other means, poſſeſſed of the ſinews of war, determined to carry it on with great vigour. A.D.1295.

Edward delays his invaſion of France, in order to conquer Scotland.

This wiſe prince, though greatly irritated againſt the king of France, on account of his groſs prevarication in the affair of Guienne, the invaſion of England and burning of Dover, A. D. 1295, and many other injuries, reſolved to make his greateſt efforts againſt Scotland. He contented himſelf, therefore, with ſending his brother Edmund with a ſmall army into Guienne to preſerve the few places he ſtill poſſeſſed in theſe parts, and to keep the war alive in France, while he reſolved to attempt the total conqueſt of Scotland [55].

A.D.1296. War with Scotland.

Edward, that he might not want a plauſible pretence for invading Scotland, required king John to deliver the caſtles of Berwick, Jedburgh, and Roxburgh, into his hands, as a ſecurity for his peace-

[53] T. Wykes, p. 126. Heming. t. 1. p. 51, 52.

[54] M. Weſt. p. 394, 395 Walſing. p. 62. Heming. t. 1. p. 53, 54.

[55] Walſing. p. 63, 64.

able

A.D.1296. able behaviour during the war with France [56]. John having concluded the above-mentioned treaty with the king of France, and having alſo received from the pope an abſolution from the oaths of fealty which he had ſworn to Edward, refuſed to comply with this demand; and as a further evidence of his hoſtile diſpoſitions, he baniſhed all Engliſhmen out of Scotland. In the ſpring of the year 1296, Edward began to move northward with his army; and arriving at Newcaſtle in the beginning of March, he there held a parliament, to which king John received a citation, which he entirely ſlighted; and hoſtilities immediately commenced between the two kingdoms [57].

Advantages of Edward. The king of England began this war with every advantage that could promiſe certain and complete ſucceſs. He excelled in military ſkill and courage, and conducted a powerful, united people, againſt a weak diſpirited nation, headed by an unpopular and unwarlike prince. To render this match ſtill more unequal, Edward was joined by Robert Bruce earl of Carrick, and his ſon, of the ſame name, who was afterwards king of Scotland, with ſeveral barons of their party. King John was even ſo much deſpiſed by that part of his ſubjects who acknowledged his authority, that they did not think fit to truſt him with the conduct of the war, but choſe twelve guardians, who were to have the chief direction of all affairs [58].

[56] Rymer, vol. 2. p. 692. Walſing. p. 64.
[57] Heming. vol. 1. p. 84. [58] Id. ibid. p. 75.

In the beginning of the war the Scots had ſome ſucceſs. Their fleet defeated an Engliſh ſquadron which blocked up Berwick by ſea, and ſunk ſixteen of their ſhips;—the caſtle of Werk was betrayed to them by its governor; and a thouſand men whom Edward ſent to preſerve it, falling into an ambuſh, were cut in pieces;—a ſmall army of Scots broke into Northumberland and Cumberland, plundered the country, and burnt ſeveral monaſteries, and the ſuburbs of Carliſle [59]. A.D.1296. Succeſſes of the Scots.

But theſe ſlight ſucceſſes were followed by a long train of grievous and irreparable loſſes. Edward, croſſing the Tweed at Coldſtream without oppoſition, inveſted Berwick; which he took by a ſtratagem, on the 30th of March, and put all the numerous garriſon to the ſword [60]. The caſtle of Roxburgh was ſoon after ſurrendered by James, ſteward of Scotland, who ſubmitted, and ſwore fealty to Edward. The earl of Warrenne, with a large detachment of the Engliſh army, beſieged the caſtle of Dunbar; and the Scots army, which is ſaid to have amounted to 40,000 foot and 500 horſe, approaching to raiſe the ſiege, a battle was fought near that place, April 27, in which the Scots received a dreadful overthrow, leaving (as the Engliſh hiſtorians affirm) ten thouſand men dead on the field of battle [61]. This terrible defeat entirely diſpirited the Scots; the caſtles of Edin- Greater victories of Edward.

59 Trivet. p. 288. Heming. t. 1. p. 87, 88. Knyghton, col. 2478, 2479. 60 Heming. vol. 1. p. 89—97.

61 M. Weſt. p. 404. Walſing. p. 67.

burgh

A.D. 1296. burgh and Stirling ſurrendered almoſt without reſiſtance; and the whole ſouth of Scotland was ſubdued before Midſummer. Edward, determined to purſue his advantage, directed his march northward, having received a ſtrong reinforcement of Welſh and Iriſh troops [62].

King John ſurrenders. The unfortunate Baliol, after the fatal battle of Dunbar, had retired with the ſhattered remains of his army beyond the river Tay. But diſtruſting the fidelity of his own troops, and deſpairing of making any effectual reſiſtance, he reſolved to throw himſelf upon the mercy of the conqueror. He found means to communicate this reſolution to Edward; who ſent Anthony Beck, biſhop of Durham, to confirm him in his deſign, and conduct him into his preſence; and that artful prelate, encouraging the fallen monarch with hopes of favour, brought him before the king of England, on the 2d of July, at a place called *Stroutharrack* [63]. At this interview, the two kings diſcovered their real characters, John behaving with the moſt abject meanneſs, and Edward with the moſt unrelenting ſelfiſhneſs. He obliged Baliol to make a ſolemn ſurrender, by letters-patent under his hand and ſeal, of his whole kingdom, and royal dignity, into his hands [64]; after which he ſent him priſoner to the tower of London. This puſillanimous and unfortunate prince had enjoyed ſo little peace and comfort ſince his acceſſion

[62] Heming. vol. 1. p. 96. [63] Hector Boeth. Hiſt. l. 14.
[64] Rym. Fœd. t. 2. p. 718. Heming. t. 1. p. 99, &c. Walſing. p. 68.

to

to the throne, through the continual inſults of Edward, and the diſaffection of his own ſubjects, that he ſeems to have loſt all reliſh for royalty, and never more intermeddled with affairs of government. After remaining ſome years a priſoner in England, he was ſent to his own eſtate in France, where he died in a private ſtation, at an advanced age [65]. A.D. 1296.

Edward ſhewed as little lenity to the kingdom as to the king of Scotland. He ſent all the nobility who fell into his hands priſoners into England; he deſtroyed or took away all the public records; he carried off the regalia, and that fatal chair in which their kings had been crowned, and for which they had ſuch a ſuperſtitious veneration; and, in a word, he did every thing in his power to obliterate every monument of their former independency. All the chief offices of the kingdom were beſtowed on Engliſhmen. John de Warrenne earl of Surry was appointed governor, with a ſufficient force, as it was believed, to keep the country in ſubjection: and every thing being ſettled to his mind, Edward returned with the bulk of his army into England; concluding, that he had made a final conqueſt of Scotland [66]. But the ſequel will ſhow how much he was miſtaken. A.D. 1297. Severity of Edward to the Scots.

While Edward was employed in Scotland, the war in Guienne had languiſhed; but being now at leiſure, he reſolved to attempt the recovery of that War with France.

[65] Rymer, vol. 2 p. 878.
[66] Walſing. p 68. Trivet. p. 299. Heming. t. 1. p. 103.

A.D.1297. province with all his power. On this occaſion, however, he changed his place of operations; and, inſtead of ſending an army into Guienne, which was remote, he propoſed to make a formidable attack upon France from the ſide of Flanders. In order to this, he concluded treaties with the emperor, the dukes of Auſtria and Brabant, the earl of Flanders, and ſeveral other princes on the continent, who engaged, for certain ſums of money, to furniſh him with troops for his intended invaſion of France [67].

Parliament. The great difficulty was, to find money ſufficient to ſet this great machine in motion. He aſſembled a parliament, and obtained an eighth of their moveables from the cities and boroughs, a twelfth from the reſt of the laity, and, after a long and violent ſtruggle, a fifth from the clergy [68].

Edward quarrels with the conſtable and marſhal. But this haughty prince ſoon found, that the clergy were not the only perſons who dared to diſpute his commands; for having appointed Humphrey Bohun high conſtable, and Hugh Bigod earl marſhal of England, to command a ſmall body of troops which he deſigned to ſend into Guienne, to create a diverſion on that ſide, theſe noblemen refuſed to obey the appointment, alleging they were not obliged to ſerve but where the king was in perſon. This refuſal brought on a violent altercation between the king and the high conſtable; in the courſe of which, Edward, tranſported with rage,

[67] M. Weſt. p. 421. Rymer, vol. 2. p. 761.
[68] M. Weſt. p. 422. Heming. t. 1. p. 105—110.

cried

cried out, "By the eternal God, ſir earl, you ſhall "either go or hang;" to which the other replied, with equal fierceneſs, "By the eternal God, ſir "king, I will neither go nor hang;" and immediately left the court, accompanied by the earl marſhal and thirty other barons [69]. A.D. 1297.

Edward's moderation.

Though Edward was a prince of ſtrong paſſions, his great prudence kept them within due bounds; and he wiſely concealed his reſentment againſt the two earls, until they became ſo haughty that they refuſed to permit the king's officers to raiſe either men or money within their territories [70]. Even then, being intent on his foreign expedition, he contented himſelf with depriving them of their high offices, and appointing others in their room [71]. That he might leave his other ſubjects in good humour, he made a ſpeech to the nobility, excuſing his illegal exactions by the neceſſity of his affairs; ſolemnly promiſing, that at his return he would redreſs all grievances, and make compenſation for all their loſſes; and that he would for the future ſtrictly obſerve the great charter of their liberties [72].

Expedition to the continent.

Having appointed his ſon prince Edward regent of the kingdom, he embarked at Winchelſea, on the 22d of Auguſt A. D. 1297, and three days after landed at Sluys, with an army (as ſome hiſtorians affirm [73]) of 50,000 men. The ſucceſs of Edward

[69] Heming. vol. 1. p. 112.
[70] Id. t. 1. p. 113.
[71] Heming. t. 1. p. 114.
[72] Id. ibid.
[73] Knyghton, col. 2512.

A.D.1297. in this expedition was by no means anſwerable to his immenſe expences and mighty preparations. His allies, having received his money, were in no haſte to furniſh him with troops. The inhabitants of the great towns in Flanders were more in the intereſt of France than of their own ſovereign: Philip had already defeated the Flemings in the battle of Furnes, and taken the towns of Liſle, St. Omer, Courtrai, and Ypres. In this ſituation of affairs, and the ſeaſon far advanced, Edward found he could perform nothing worthy of his great name and high expectations, and was glad to conclude a truce with Philip, and refer all their differences to the arbitration of the pope. Having ſpent near eight months in this expenſive and unfortunate expedition, he returned to England in March, A. D. 1298, where his preſence was much wanted [74].

Revolution in Scotland by Sir William Wallace.

If Edward gathered no laurels on the continent in his late expedition, thoſe which he had before gained by the conqueſt of Scotland were entirely blaſted by a very ſudden and ſurpriſing revolution, which happened in that kingdom in the courſe of this year. The chief inſtrument of this great revolution was the celebrated Sir William Wallace, a young gentleman of an ancient family, but ſmall fortune, in the ſhire of Ayr. Wallace is repreſented by the Scotch hiſtorians as the model of a perfect hero; ſuperior to the reſt of mankind in bodily ſtature, ſtrength, and activity; in bearing

[74] Rymer, vol. 2. p. 795—819.

cold

cold and heat, thirſt and hunger, watching and fatigue; no leſs extraordinary in the qualities of his mind, being equally valiant and prudent, magnanimous and diſintereſted, undaunted in adverſity, modeſt in proſperity, and animated by the moſt ardent and unextinguiſhable love of his country [75]. This extraordinary perſon, having his reſentment againſt the enemies of his country ſharpened by ſome perſonal affronts, neglected no opportunity of haraſſing the Engliſh; and becoming famous for his daring and ſucceſsful adventures, he was ſoon joined by great numbers of his countrymen. The firſt attempts of this choſen and determined band were crowned with ſucceſs. Several of the nobility obſerving this, either ſecretly favoured, or openly joined them [76]. A.D. 1297.

Earl of Surry's expedition into Scotland, and battle of Stirling.

But this firſt dawn of ſucceſs was ſoon overcaſt. The earl of Surry, governor of Scotland, collected an army of 40,000 men; which entering Annandale, and marching through the ſouth-weſt of Scotland, obliged all the barons of theſe parts to ſubmit, and renew their oaths of fealty [77]. Wallace, with his followers, unable to encounter ſo great a force, retired northward, and were purſued by the governor and his army. When the Engliſh army reached Stirling, they diſcovered the Scots encamped near the abbey of Cambuſkenneth, on the oppoſite banks of the Forth. Creſſingham, treaſurer of

[75] Buchannan, Hiſt. Scot. l. 8. p. 137. Fordun, l. 11. c. 28.
[76] Heming. vol. 1. p. 118. Trivet. Ann. 1297.
[77] Heming. p. 122, 123.

32619

A.D.1297. Scotland, whoſe covetouſneſs and tyranny had been one great cauſe of this revolt, earneſtly preſſed the earl of Surry to paſs his army over the bridge of Stirling, and attack the enemy. Wallace, who obſerved all their motions, allowed as many of the Engliſh to paſs as he thought he could defeat, when ruſhing upon them with an irreſiſtible impetuoſity, they were all either killed, drowned, or taken priſoners. In the heat of the action, the bridge, which was only of wood, broke down, and many periſhed in the river; and the earl of Surry, with the other part of his army, were melancholy ſpectators of the deſtruction of their countrymen, without being able to afford them any aſſiſtance [78]. Such was the violent hatred of the Scots againſt Creſſingham, that finding his dead body on the field of battle, they treated it with the moſt wanton inſults [79]. This ſevere check, which the Engliſh received on the 11th September A.D. 1297, obliged them once more to evacuate Scotland.

Wallace invades England. Wallace, who after this great victory was ſaluted deliverer and guardian of the kingdom by his followers, purſuing the tide of ſucceſs, entered England with his army, recovered the town of Berwick, plundered the counties of Cumberland and Northumberland, and returned into his own country loaded with ſpoils and glory [80].

A.D.1298. Edward invades Scotland. The news of theſe ſurpriſing events being carried to Edward in Flanders, accelerated his return.

[78] Heming. vol. 1. p. 127—129. Trivet. Ann. 1297. Walſing. p. 73.

[79] Heming. vol. 1. p. 130. [80] Id. ibid. p. 131—136.

After

After his arrival, he iſſued orders to all the forces of England and Wales to march northward; and having held a parliament at York, about Whitſunday A. D. 1298, and paſſed ſeveral gracious and popular acts, to ſecure the hearts of his own ſubjects, he haſtened to join his troops at their general rendezvous near Roxburgh [81]. Here he found himſelf at the head of a gallant army, conſiſting, of 80,000 foot and 7000 horſe [82]. A fleet of ſhips, loaden with proviſions, had orders to ſail up the frith of Forth as the army advanced [83]. A.D. 1298.

The Scots were not in a condition to reſiſt ſo great an army, commanded by ſo brave a leader. Their country, for ſeveral years, had been almoſt a continued ſcene of war, in which many of its inhabitants had periſhed. Some of their nobles were in the Engliſh intereſt, ſome of them in priſon; and thoſe few who had any power or inclination to defend the freedom of their country, were diſpirited and divided. In particular, the ancient nobility began to view the power and popularity of William Wallace with a jealous eye; which was productive of very fatal conſequences [84]. State of Scotland.

About Midſummer Edward marched from Roxburgh to Berwick, which he entered without oppoſition; and from thence advanced into the country, by eaſy marches, taking ſome caſtles, and deſtroying every thing as he proceeded [85]. When he Battle of Falkirk.

[81] Heming. vol. 1. p. 158, 159. [82] Id. ibid.
[83] Walſing. p. 75. [84] Fordun, l. 11. c. 31.
[85] Heming. t. 1. p. 159, &c.

A.D.1298. had reached Templeliſton, now Kirkliſton, his army began to be in ſo great diſtreſs for want of proviſions, that he was on the point of marching back to Edinburgh. At this critical moment he received intelligence that the Scotch army were encamped near Falkirk at about eighteen miles diſtance. The Engliſh army then advanced to the fields near Linlithgow, where they lay on their arms all night. Very early in the morning, July 22, Edward, though he had been much hurt in the night by a blow from his horſe, put his army in motion, advanced towards the enemy, and found them drawn up in order near the village of Falkirk. Here a battle was fought; the particulars of which are ſo variouſly related, that it is hardly poſſible to inveſtigate the truth. All that can be ſaid with certainty is, that the Scots were defeated with great ſlaughter, and the Engliſh obtained a complete victory with little loſs [86].

Edward's proceedings after the battle.

Edward, after this great victory, ſpent ſome time at Stirling, for the recovery of his health, while his troops were employed in plundering the country, and burning the towns of Perth and St. Andrew's [87]. He then directed his march weſtward, and found the caſtle of Ayr forſaken and burnt by Robert Bruce, who had lately abandoned the Engliſh intereſt. A ſcarcity of proviſions pre-

[86] Walſing. p. 75, 76. Ypodegm. Neuſtriæ, p. 489. Heming. t. 1. p. 163, &c. Trivet. Ann. 1298. M. Weſtmonſt. p 411. Knyghton, col. 2527. Buchan. Hiſt. Scot. l. 8. p. 139. Fordun, l. 11. c. 31. 34. J. Major, l. 4. c. 15.

[87] Heming. t. 1. p. 165.

vented

vented Edward from purſuing Bruce into Galloway, as he intended, and obliged him to march directly through Annandale (where he took the caſtle of Lochmaben) into England [88]. A.D. 1298.

Edward, before his return from the continent, had concluded a truce with the king of France, and had alſo referred all his diſputes with that prince to the pope [89]. Boniface, who then filled the papal chair, in order to lay a foundation for a laſting peace, propoſed, that king Edward ſhould marry Margaret, the ſiſter, and his ſon prince Edward ſhould marry Iſabella, the daughter of the king of France; and that a congreſs ſhould be held at Montreuil in Picardy, for diſcuſſing and ſettling all diſputes between the two monarchs. A peace was accordingly concluded at that place June 9, and ratified by both kings Auguſt 3, A. D. 1299; and about a month after Edward married the princeſs Margaret of France [90]. A.D. 1299. Edward's marriage and peace with France.

While Edward was engaged in theſe negotiations, the Scots, a little recovered from the confuſion into which they had been thrown by their late defeat, had collected ſome forces, and inveſted the caſtle of Stirling. To preſerve that important place from falling into their hands, Edward, ſoon after his marriage, ſet out to join his army in the north. But when he arrived at Berwick, and propoſed to march into Scotland, his great barons refuſed to follow him, pretending that the ſeaſon was too far advanced for ſuch an expedition. Stirling caſtle beſieged and taken by the Scots.

[88] Heming. t. 1. p. 165. [89] Rymeri Fœd t. 2. p. 817.
[90] Id. ibid. p. 841—847. Heming. t. 1. p. 168—170.

This

A.D.1299. This conſtrained him to abandon his deſign, and diſband his army, having firſt ſent a permiſſion to the garriſon of Stirling caſtle to ſurrender on ſuch terms as they could procure [91].

A.D.1300. Edward invades Scotland.

Edward, in order to remove the diſcontents of his barons, which had prevented his intended expedition into Scotland, held a parliament at London, in the time of Lent A. D. 1300; in which he confirmed the famous charters of their liberties, with ſome additions [92]. About Midſummer he entered into the weſt marches of Scotland, at the head of a great army, took ſome caſtles, and penetrated into Galloway. Here a petition was preſented to him from the guardians and community of Scotland, requeſting him to permit their king John Baliol to reign over them in peace, and to allow their nobles to redeem their lands from thoſe Engliſhmen to whom he had granted them. But he rejected their petition with diſdain [93].

The pope claims the ſuperiority of Scotland.

A few days after this (Auguſt 26), Edward's progreſs was interrupted by a very remarkable event. The archbiſhop of Canterbury arrived in the Engliſh camp, and preſented to the king a bull from the pope; in which his holineſs very clearly refuted Edward's pretenſions to the ſuperiority over Scotland; but advanced ſtill more impudent and groundleſs pretenſions of his own, affirming, that Scotland did, and always had belonged to the ſee of Rome; and commanding Edward, if he had

[91] Heming. t. 1. p. 168—170. [92] Walſing. p. 78.
[93] Id. ibid.

any

any claim to that kingdom, to ſend commiſſioners to Rome to plead his cauſe within ſix months [94]. Edward's army being at this time diſtreſſed by a ſcarcity of proviſions, and the frequent aſſaults and ſurpriſes of their enemies, he marched them back into England, and granted the Scots a truce from October 30, to next Whitſunday [95]. A.D. 1300.

Though the arguments advanced by the pope in ſupport of his claim to the kingdom of Scotland were in themſelves perfectly ridiculous, they gave Edward and his miniſters no little trouble. After ſpending ſome time in collecting materials for an anſwer to his holineſs, they laid this affair before the parliament, which met at Lincoln January 20, A. D. 1301. The Engliſh barons were filled with indignation at the preſumption of a foreign prieſt, in ſummoning their ſovereign before him to plead his cauſe, and returned a very ſpirited anſwer, declaring, that they would not allow their king to ſubmit to ſuch an indignity. This anſwer, dated at Lincoln, February 12, was ſigned and ſealed by one hundred and four of the temporal barons, in the name of the whole parliament [96]. Edward ſent a very long anſwer to the pope, in his own name; in which he enumerated all his claims to the ſuperiority of Scotland, beginning with that which he derived from his famous predeceſſor Brutus the Trojan [97]. Anſwers of Edward and his parliament to the pope.

[94] Rymer, t. 2. p. 844—846. Heming. t. 1. p. 172—177.
[95] Rymer, t. 2. p. 868. [96] Id. ibid. p. 873—875.
[97] Walſing. p. 18—85. Rymer, t. 2. p. 863—888.

The

A.D. 1300. Edward again invades Scotland.

The truce with the Scots being now expired, Edward, attended by his ſon the prince of Wales, and a great army, marched into Scotland about Midſummer; but performed nothing that hath obtained a place in hiſtory. He ſpent the winter at Linlithgow, where on January 26, A. D. 1301, he ratified a truce with the Scots, from that time to November 30 of the ſame year[98].

A.D. 1302. The Engliſh defeated at Roſlin.

As ſoon as this ſecond truce ended, Edward ſent an army into Scotland, under the command of John de Segrave, one of the moſt celebrated warriors of that age. But this general having divided his troops into three bodies, which marched at a conſiderable diſtance from each other, was defeated near Roſlin, February 24, A. D. 1303, by a ſmall army of Scots, commanded by John Comyn, regent of Scotland, and Simon Fraſer[99].

A.D. 1303. Peace between France and England.

Though the Scots had derived little advantage from their alliance with France, in their ſtruggles for preſerving the independency of their country, they ſtill entertained hopes of aſſiſtance from that quarter. But theſe hopes were now entirely blaſted, by a treaty of peace that was concluded May 20, A. D. 1303, between the kings of France and England, in which John Baliol and the Scots were not included[100].

Edward, being now diſengaged from all his other enemies, ſeems to have ſet his whole heart on making a complete conqueſt of Scotland, which

[98] Rymer, t. 2. p. 896. Fordun, l. 12. c. 2.

[99] Heming. t. 1. p. 197.

[100] Rymer, t. 2. p. 923—928.

had

had long been the great object of his ambition. A.D.1303
With this view, he marched into that country, at the head of ſo great an army, as deprived that unhappy people of all hopes of ſucceſs from reſiſtance. Accordingly he met with none till he arrived at Brechin, where Sir Thomas Maul defended the caſtle againſt him, till he was killed by a ſtone diſcharged from an engine [101]. After this he conducted his army to the extremity of the province of Moray, and back to Dunfermline, where he ſpent the winter with his queen and court [102].

In the courſe of laſt year, Robert Brute, and A.D.1304.
ſeveral other barons, had ſubmitted to Edward; Nobility of Scotland
and in the beginning of this, John Comyn earl of ſubmit to Edward.
Badenoch, who had long acted as guardian of Scotland, in the name of his uncle John Baliol, followed their example, together with his friends and followers [103]. All theſe barons were ſecured in their lives, liberties, and eſtates; but ſubjected to certain pecuniary penalties. A few who had been moſt active in their oppoſition were baniſhed for a certain time. The garriſon of Stirling caſtle, the only fortreſs of the kingdom which had not ſurrendered, were declared outlaws, in a parliament held at St. Andrew's in April [104].

Edward, in order to finiſh the conqueſt of Scot- Siege and ſurrender
land, made great preparations for the ſiege of Stir- of Stirling caſtle.
ling caſtle, which he inveſted immediately after Eaſter. It was defended about three months againſt

[101] M. Weſtmonſt. p. 440.
[102] Heming. t. 1. p. 205.
[103] Ryley Placita Parliam. p. 369.
[104] Fordun, l. 22. c. 5.

all

A.D.1304. all his efforts, by Sir William Oliphant, and a ſmall garriſon, who were at length compelled to ſurrender at diſcretion [105]. As all the ſtrong places, as well as the chief men of Scotland, had now ſubmitted to Edward, he appointed John de Segrave governor of that kingdom, and ſet out on his return to England about the end of Auguſt [106].

A.D.1305. Though the renowned William Wallace had long been excluded, by the jealouſy of the nobles, from commanding the armies, and influencing the councils, of his country, he ſtill continued to aſſert its independency, even after all the reſt of his countrymen had ſubmitted to ſuperior force. This, together with the remembrance of the many miſchiefs which he had done to his Engliſh ſubjects, and perhaps ſome apprehenſion that he might again rekindle the flames of war, made Edward employ various means to get poſſeſſion of his perſon. In this he at laſt ſucceeded. Wallace was ſurpriſed, ſome ſay betrayed, in one of his lurking-places near Glaſgow, conducted to London, tried, condemned, and executed Auguſt 23, A. D. 1305 [107]. Thus fell one of the braveſt men, and moſt determined patriots, that Scotland ever produced; and with him the freedom and independency of his country ſeemed to fall.

Wallace condemned and executed.

Edward was now employed in forming a plan for the future government of Scotland, in which he

Plan for the government of Scotland.

105 M. Weſtmonſt. p. 445, 446. Heming. t. 1. p. 205, 206. Rymer, t. 2. p. 950. 106 Trivit. Ann. 1304.
107 T. Walſing. p. 90. Trivit. Ann. 1305.

was assisted by Robert Bruce earl of Carrick and Annandale, who appears to have possessed a considerable degree of his favour.[108]. By this plan (which was drawn up by commissioners appointed for that purpose) various changes were to be made in the laws of Scotland; and the chief places of power and profit were to be possessed by Englishmen[109]. These arrangements did not contribute any thing to reconcile the minds of the Scots to their new government or their new governors. A.D. 1305.

Robert Bruce earl of Annandale, son of Robert Bruce the competitor, died in his way from London, soon after Easter A. D. 1304; and John Baliol king of Scotland died at his estate in France about a year after[110]. These two events seem to have inspired Robert Bruce, the sixth of that name, and grandson of the competitor, with the design of asserting his claim to the crown of Scotland, and attempting to rescue his country from the English yoke. With this view, he left the court of England, and came into Scotland about the end of this year, or the beginning of the next. Robert Bruce forms the design of mounting the throne of Scotland.

John Comyn earl of Badenoch was head of the most opulent and powerful family at this time in Scotland. He had been several years guardian of the kingdom; and was one of the last who submitted to Edward. Bruce, being sensible that the assistance of so potent a baron would be of the A.D. 1306. Bruce kills Comyn.

[108] Ryley, p. 243.
[109] Id. p. 279.
[110] Heming. t. 1. p. 214. Hist. Chron. de Maieurs d'Abbeville, p. 263. 306.

greatest

A.D. 1306. greateſt advantage, and his oppoſition the greateſt detriment to him, in his attempt upon the crown, deſired and obtained an interview with him in the convent of the friars minors at Dumfries, February 10, A. D. 1306. What was ſaid at this interview muſt for ever remain a ſecret, as none were preſent but the two chieftains; but it is certain,—that they quarrelled,—that from words they proceeded to blows,—that Bruce ſtruck Comyn with his foot, and then wounded him with his dagger,—that one of Bruce's friends, Sir Thomas Kirkpatrick, ruſhing in, put him to death [111].

Bruce crowned at Scone.

After this daring and deſperate deed, Bruce and his friends ſeized the caſtle of Dumfries by ſurpriſe, apprehended the Engliſh judges, who were then holding a court in the town-hall, publiſhed Bruce's reſolution to aſſert his claim to the crown, and diſpatched meſſengers into all parts, to invite the friends of his family, and of the freedom of their country, to come to his aſſiſtance. Theſe meſſengers were ſo ſucceſsful, that in a few days Bruce found himſelf at the head of a ſmall army, with which he advanced, taking the caſtles, and waſting the lands, of all who refuſed to ſubmit to his authority. About the middle of March he had penetrated as far as Perth, the Engliſh every where endeavouring to ſave their lives by flying into their own country [112]. Having aſſembled all the chief men of his party, he was crowned at Scone on

[111] Heming. t. 1. p. 219. Walſing. p. 91. M. Weſtmonſt. p. 455. [112] M. Weſtmonſt. p. 455.

Friday

Friday, March 27, A. D. 1306, in preſence of four biſhops, five earls, and a great multitude of knights and gentlemen. For the greater ſolemnity, this ceremony was repeated on the Sunday after, when the crown was put upon his head by the counteſs of Buchan, ſiſter of the earl of Fife (which family claimed a right to crown the kings of Scotland), her brother being abſent, and in the Engliſh intereſt [113]. A.D. 1306.

Nothing could exceed the ſurpriſe and indignation of Edward when he heard of this revolution in Scotland. He was then at Wincheſter, and immediately commanded Aymer de Valence, Henry de Percy, and Robert de Clifford, to raiſe all the military in the north of England, to join the forces of the family of Comyn, and all the Scots in the Engliſh intereſt, and to take vengeance on the traitor Bruce, as he called him, and all his followers [114]. Theſe commands were punctually obeyed: the three generals entered Scotland with a conſiderable army, in the beginning of ſummer, and were joined by the partiſans of the Comyn family, who were much enraged againſt Bruce for the murder of their chief. *Invaſion of Scotland by an Engliſh army.*

As the enterpriſe in which Robert Bruce had engaged was one of the boldeſt and moſt deſperate that ever was undertaken, ſo it was for ſome time one of the moſt unproſperous. Many of his braveſt friends were killed or taken, June 24, at the fatal *Misfortunes of Bruce.*

[113] M. Weſtmonſt. p. 456. Heming. t. 1. p. 220.
[114] Rymer, t. 2. p. 988. Heming. t. 1. p. 221.

A.D.1306. battle of Methven, near Perth; where he was ſurpriſed and defeated, and from whence he made his eſcape with great difficulty [115]. The ſhattered remains of his army were again defeated at Dalry, a few days after, by the men of Argyle, under the command of their chieftain the lord Lorn, who, being the nephew of the murdered Comyn, was the mortal enemy of Bruce. Unable any longer to keep the field, he diſmiſſed his few remaining followers; and, after ſkulking for ſome weeks on the continent, he took ſhelter, with only two or three friends, in the ſmall iſland of Ruchrin, one of the moſt unfrequented of the Weſtern Iſles [116]. Nor was Bruce leſs unfortunate in his family and friends than in his forces. His three brothers, Neil, Thomas, and Alexander, with Chriſtopher Seton, an Engliſh baron, his brother-in-law, being taken in different places, were tried, condemned, and executed as traitors. His brave and faithful friends, the earl of Athol, Simon Fraſer, and ſeveral others, ſhared the ſame fate [117]. His queen, his only daughter, Marjory, his two ſiſters, Mary and Chriſtina, with the counteſs of Buchan, the heroine who had placed the crown upon his head, were all taken, and committed to different priſons, where ſome of them were treated with great ſeverity [118].

Edward knights his eldeſt ſon, and invades Scotland.

While the wretched Bruce was overwhelmed by ſo many calamities, his powerful adverſary Edward was

115 Walſing. p. 91. Heming. t. 1. p. 222.
116 Fordun. l. 12. c. 11. Buchan. l. 8. p. 142.
117 Id. ibid. 118 Rymer, t. 2. p. 1012—1015.

collecting

collecting money, and raiſing forces, to make a final conqueſt of Scotland. To animate the young nobility with greater ardour in this enterpriſe, Edward conferred the honour of knighthood upon his eldeſt ſon Edward prince of Wales, in his palace at Weſtminſter, on Whitſunday, with very great ſolemnity. Immediately after, the prince went in proceſſion to Weſtminſter church, mounted on the high altar, and knighted about three hundred young noblemen and gentlemen, who were all dreſſed in robes embroidered with gold, which they had received out of the royal wardrobe. At the end of this ceremony, two ſwans, adorned with trappings and bells of gold, were brought with great pomp into the church; and the king took a ſolemn oath, by the God of heaven, and by theſe ſwans, that he would march into Scotland, and never return till he had avenged the death of John Comyn, and puniſhed the rebellious Scots. The prince, and the young knights, his companions, took oaths to the ſame purpoſe [119]. Soon after this ſolemnity, the king, with the prince and his knights, ſet out to join the army, which was appointed to rendezvous at Carliſle in July. But this great army meeting with no enemy in the field, ſpent the campaign in plundering the country, taking priſoners, and receiving the ſubmiſſions of ſuch as ſurrendered [120]. A.D. 1306.

When neither friends nor foes knew what was become of Bruce, he ſuddenly made his appear- Bruce appears, and is forced to retire.

[119] M. Weſtmonſt. p. 458.
[120] Id. p. 460—463. Rymer, t. 2. p. 1013—1016.

A.D.1306. ance, about Michaelmas, on his own eſtate in Carrick, at the head of a ſmall but reſolute band of followers, ſurpriſed Henry de Percy, who had obtained a grant of that eſtate from Edward, ſeized his baggage, and beſieged himſelf in Turnberry caſtle. But on the approach of a large detachment of the Engliſh army, he was obliged to raiſe the ſiege, and take ſhelter in the highlands [121].

A.D.1307. Bruce excommunicated, and Gavaſton baniſhed.

Edward, who was now in a declining ſtate of health, ſpent the laſt months of the former, and the firſt months of this year, in Cumberland, and held a parliament at Carliſle, which met January 20, A. D. 1307. While this parliament was ſitting, on February 22, Peter d'Eſpaigne, cardinal-legate from the pope, attended by the king, biſhops, and barons, in their robes, with candles lighted and bells ringing, ſolemnly excommunicated Robert Bruce, and all who favoured him, as perjured traitors and enemies of peace [122]. A few days after this ſolemnity, Piers de Gavaſton, a Gaſcon gentleman, the great favourite and corrupter of prince Edward, was baniſhed the kingdom; and both the prince and Gavaſton took a ſolemn oath, that he never ſhould return without the king's leave [123].

When Edward was thus moving heaven and earth againſt Bruce and his adherents, that prince was not idle in his retreat. About the beginning of April, he deſcended from the mountains, at the head of a body of men; which, increaſing as he ad-

[121] Heming. t. 1. p. 225. [122] Id. ibid. p. 226.
[123] Rymer, t. 2. p. 1043.

vanced,

vanced, at laſt amounted to ten thouſand. With this army he defeated Aymer de Valence, earl of Pembroke, at Cumnock, and a few days after Ralph de Monthermer, earl of Glouceſter; who flying to the caſtle of Ayr was there beſieged [124]. A.D. 1307.

Death of Edward I.

Edward, exaſperated beyond meaſure at this intelligence, iſſued his commands to all the forces of his dominions, to come to him at Carliſle three weeks after Midſummer. But before that time, the dyſentery, with which he had been long afflicted, had rendered him ſo weak, that he was confined to his chamber; and a report prevailed that he was dead. To diſprove this report, he ſet out from Carliſle July 3; but was ſo feeble, that he could travel only three miles; and having reſted one day, he reached Burgh on the Sands about five miles from Carliſle, July 5, and there expired in his tent, July 7, in the ſixty-ninth year of his age, and thirty-fifth of his reign [125]. When he took leave of the prince of Wales, he gave him (as is uſual on ſuch occaſions) much good advice. In particular, he charged him, under the pain of incurring his paternal malediction,—never to recal the baniſhed Gavaſton,—to ſend his heart into the Holy Land,—to carry his body with the army into Scotland, and not to bury it till he had made a complete conqueſt of that country [126]. What regard his ſon paid to theſe injunctions, we ſhall ſee in the next ſection.

124 Walſing. p. 93. Heming. t. 1. p. 237.
125 Walſing. p. 93. Heming t. 1. p. 237, 238. Rymer, t. 2. p. 1059.
126 Walſing. p. 93.

A.D.1307. Character of Edward I.

Edward I. from the length and ſmallneſs of his legs commonly called *Long-Shanks*, had, in other reſpects, a very advantageous perſon, being remarkably tall, ſtrong, and graceful. He had fine hair, yellow in his youth, darker as he advanced in life, and gray in his old age. His forehead was large, all his features regular, and his complexion fair when he was young, but browner in his manhood. He greatly excelled in riding, tilting, and in every martial and manly exerciſe. Hunting and hawking were his favourite amuſements [127]. Nor were his mental endowments inferior to his perſonal perfections. His excellent underſtanding and good ſenſe rendered him one of the beſt legiſlators, and greateſt politicians, that ever filled the throne of England. His perſonal courage and military ſkill were equally conſpicuous. He had a ſacred regard to juſtice, when he was not blinded by ambition. In a word, he was induſtrious, frugal, ſober, and chaſte; a dutiful ſon, a fond huſband, and a tender parent. But his character was not without its blemiſhes: he was too fond of power; and would probably have endeavoured to render himſelf abſolute, if he had not ſtood ſo much in need of the love and aſſiſtance of his ſubjects in proſecuting his ambitious ſchemes. It was evidently this that compelled him ſo frequently to confirm the charters; which he generally did with an ill grace, and to ſerve ſome particular purpoſe. The ambition of extending his authority over all the iſle of Bri-

[127] Walſing. p. 43, 44.

tain,

tain, was, in truth, the great blemiſh of this prince's character, which betrayed him into many crimes and errors, and brought many calamities on both the Britiſh kingdoms. As his ſchemes for the reduction of Wales were ſucceſsful, the cruelty and iniquity of them have been long forgotten. But his attempts on Scotland, having been more unfortunate, have appeared more criminal; and his greateſt admirers cannot deny,—that he took an ungenerous advantage of the unhappy circumſtances of the Scotch nation;—that he abuſed the confidence which they repoſed in him;—and that he committed many acts of injuſtice and cruelty in endeavouring to eſtabliſh his dominion over them. It ſeems indeed probable, that by labouring ſo long, and ſo earneſtly, to perſuade the world of his right to the ſovereignty of Scotland, he at length became perſuaded of it himſelf; and it muſt alſo be confeſſed, that the object was ſo deſirable, and the probability of obtaining it ſo great, that few ambitious princes could have reſiſted the temptation. A.D. 1307.

Edward I. was firſt married to the princeſs Eleanor of Caſtille, by whom he had four ſons and eleven daughters. The three eldeſt of theſe ſons, John, Henry, and Alphonſo, died unmarried, long before their father; the youngeſt, Edward, ſurvived, and ſucceeded him. Four of the daughters of this marriage, Eleanor, Joane of Acres, Margaret, and Eliſabeth, were married to the earls of Bar and Glouceſter, the duke of Brabant and earl of Holland; His children.

A.D.1307. Holland; ſix of them died in their infancy; one of them, Mary, was a nun, and ſurvived her father. Edward's ſecond queen was Margaret of France, by whom he had two ſons, Thomas of Brotherton earl of Norfolk, and Edmund of Woodſtoke earl of Kent, and one daughter, Eleanor, who died in her infancy.

History of Scotland.

ALEXANDER III. king of Scotland, with his queen, and a ſplendid train of his nobility, attended the coronation of his brother-in-law, Edward I. at Weſtminſter, 19th Auguſt A.D. 1274[128]. At that time the greateſt cordiality reigned between the two nations, as well as the two royal families. Soon after, the unhappy queſtion about homage, as uſual, occaſioned ſome diſquiet. But as both parties were then amicably diſpoſed, this diſpute was compromiſed, by permitting Robert Bruce earl of Carrick to do homage in the name of Alexander, and by expreſſing it in general and ambiguous terms, to be on account of the lands and tenements which he held of the king of England, without any ſpecification[129].

Changes in the royal family of Scotland.

Margaret queen of Scotland died about ſix months after ſhe had attended her brother's coronation; and ſeveral great changes took place in the royal family of Scotland in a few years[130]. David, the youngeſt ſon of Alexander, died A.D. 1281; and in that ſame year Margaret, his only daughter,

[128] Knyght. col.
[129] Rym. Fœd. tom. 2. p. 126.
[130] Ford. l. 10. c. 35.

was

was married to Eric king of Norway, and died A. D. 1283, leaving an infant daughter of the ſame name [131]. Alexander prince of Scotland married Margaret, the daughter of Guy earl of Flanders, A. D. 1283, and died in January A. D. 1284, without iſſue [132]. Thus, in a ſhort time, this unhappy prince loſt his queen, and all his children, having only one infant grandchild left. A.D.1307.

Alexander III. after he had been ten years a widower, ſeeing his family ſo weak, at the earneſt requeſt of his nobility, married Ioleta, daughter of the earl of Dreux. But he was unhappily killed by a fall from his horſe, near Kinghorn, a few months after marriage, 16th March A. D. 1286, in the forty-fifth year of his age, and thirty-ſeventh of his reign [133]. Marriage and death of Alexander III.

Hardly any prince was more ſincerely lamented, or longer remembered, by his ſubjects, than Alexander III. of Scotland, both on account of the peace and proſperity they had enjoyed under his government, and of the deplorable calamities in which they were involved after his death. Lamented by his ſubjects.

The hiſtory of Scotland, from the death of Alexander to the death of Edward I. is ſo interwoven with that of England, that it could not be ſeparated from it, and hath been already related.

[131] Rym. Fœd. t. 4. p. 370. Ford. l. 10. c. 37.
[132] Rym. Fœd. tom. 2. p. 369. Ford. l. 10. c. 37.
[133] Ford. l. 19. c. 49.

SECTION III.

The civil and military history of Britain, from the acceſſion of Edward II. A. D. 1307, *to the acceſſion of Edward* III. A. D. 1327.

A.D. 1307. Advantages of Edward II. at his acceſſion.

EDWARD II. at his acceſſion to the crown of England, enjoyed many great advantages; which ſeemed to promiſe him the monarchy of Britain, and a glorious and happy reign. He was then in the twenty-third year of his age, at the head of a mighty army, fluſhed with many former victories, inflamed with the moſt violent national animoſity againſt the Scots, with whom they had been about fifteen years at war, and animated with the moſt ardent deſire of acquiring both riches and honour, by the complete conqueſt of their country. But it ſoon appeared that he was not poſſeſſed of talents to make a proper uſe of theſe advantages.

Edward marches into Scotland.

Edward ſpent about three weeks at Carliſle, waiting for ſome of his forces, receiving the homage of his Engliſh barons and other military tenants of the crown, and giving orders about his father's funeral, and other matters. At length, Auguſt 1, A.D. 1307, he began his march into Scotland, directing his route towards Dumfries, having ſummoned the nobility of Scotland to meet him at that place, to perform their homage[1].

[1] Chron. de Lannercoſt.

Here

Here he trifled away his time in receiving the ſubmiſſions of ſuch of the Scotch barons as obeyed his ſummons, without taking any vigorous meaſures for the reduction of Robert Bruce and his followers, who were becoming daily more formidable. A.D. 1307.

As ſoon as Edward heard of his father's death, he diſcovered his contempt of his own moſt ſolemn oaths, and of the dying injunctions of his illuſtrious parent, by recalling Piers Gavaſton from baniſhment; and while he reſided at Dumfries, he further betrayed his extravagant fondneſs for that pernicious favourite, by granting him, Auguſt 6, the whole earldom of Cornwall, and all the great eſtates of his couſin Edmund, which had lately fallen to the crown [2]. Gavaſton recalled.

Edward paid no greater regard to the laſt and moſt earneſt of his father's admonitions, to proſecute the war againſt Scotland with the greateſt vigour, and never to deſiſt until he had made an entire conqueſt of that country. For from the very beginning of his reign he allowed that war to languiſh, and advanced no further than to Cumnock, in the ſhire of Ayr, where he continued only a few days. Becoming weary even of the ſhadow of war, and impatient to embrace his returning favourite Gavaſton, having conſtituted Aymer de Valence earl of Pembroke guardian of Scotland, he diſbanded a great part of his army and returned to England in the beginning of September [3]. Edward returns to England.

[2] Rymer, t. 3. p. 1, 2, 3. J. de Trokeſow, M. Malmſburienſ. p. 95. [3] Rymer, t. 3. p. 7.

Theſe

A.D.1307. Edward's liberality to Gavaſton.

Theſe firſt tranſactions of Edward's reign gave the people of England very unfavourable impreſſions, both of the diſpoſitions and abilities of their new king; and the events which followed ſerved ſtill further to confirm theſe impreſſions. As ſoon as the favourite Gavaſton arrived at court, he was loaded with wealth and honours, and had the entire direction both of the king and kingdom. The faithful ſervants of the late king were the firſt who felt the fatal effects of the favourite's unbounded ſway. The chancellor, treaſurer, barons of the exchequer, and judges of both benches, were all turned out of their places; and ſome of them, particularly Walter de Langton treaſurer, impriſoned, and treated with great ſeverity [4]. The places of theſe diſcarded miniſters and judges were filled by the creatures of the favourite. Edward, not yet weary of conferring benefits on his beloved Gavaſton, gave him a ſtill ſtronger proof of his unbounded affection, by introducing him into the royal family, and beſtowing his own niece, ſiſter of the young earl of Glouceſter, upon him in marriage [5]. Nay, when this infatuated prince ſailed to Boulogne, in January 1308, to celebrate his nuptials with the princeſs Iſabella, daughter of the king of France, to whom he had already been eſpouſed by proxy, paſſing by the princes of the blood, and all the ancient nobility of England, he conſtituted Gavaſton guardian of the kingdom in his abſence,

[4] Walſingham, p. 96. J. de Trokelowe, p. 4. Heming. t. 1. p. 244. [5] Heming. vol. 1. p. 245. Mon. Malmſ. p. 96.

with more extenſive powers than had ever been granted to any former guardian [6]. A.D. 1307.

Such an aſtoniſhing profuſion of royal favour, was enough to have excited envy againſt a perſon of the greateſt prudence and humility. But theſe virtues conſtituted no part of the character of this worthleſs minion. On the contrary, he was vain and inſolent in the higheſt degree; and made the moſt oſtentatious and provoking diſplays of his perſonal accompliſhments, and of his power and riches. Some of the nobility he offended by his ſatirical wit; ſome he affronted by his ſuperior addreſs in tournaments, the favourite diverſion of the great in theſe times: and he enraged them all by engroſſing the royal favour and bounty, and depriving them of that ſhare in the confidence and liberality of their ſovereign, and in the management of public affairs, to which they thought themſelves entitled by their birth and ſtation [7]. Thus, while Gavaſton was beloved beyond meaſure by his deluded ſovereign, he was abhorred and hated with the greateſt violence, both by the nobility and common people; who never could be prevailed upon to ſhew him the leaſt reſpect, or call him by any other name than that of *Piers Gavaſton*, though a ridiculous proclamation was iſſued by the king, commanding all men to give him the title of *Earl of Cornwall* in common converſation [8]. Miſconduct of Gavaſton.

6 Rymer, t. 3. p. 47. 53. Ypodig. Neuſtriæ, p. 499.
7 Walſing. p. 97. J. Trokelowe, p. 6.
8 Mon. Malmſ. p. 98.

Edward

A.D. 1308. Edward returned from France on the 7th of February, accompanied with a ſplendid train of French princes and noblemen, and was crowned, together with his young queen, in Weſtminſter abbey, on the 25th of the ſame month [9].

Edward's marriage and coronation.

Though Edward was now married to a young and beautiful princeſs, it ſoon appeared that ſhe poſſeſſed a very ſmall ſhare of his affections; and that his fondneſs for his favourite was not in the leaſt diminiſhed. He beſtowed upon Gaveſton all the rich preſents which he had received from the king of France at his marriage; he allowed him to plunder the treaſury of one hundred thouſand pounds, beſides jewels left by the late king; and he appointed him to carry the crown at the coronation, where he far outſhone all the nobility, and even the king himſelf, in the ſplendour and richneſs of his dreſs [10]. Theſe and many other marks which the king daily gave of his extravagant fondneſs for his favourite, inflamed the reſentment of the nobility to the greateſt height, and made them reſolved to tear the inſolent minion from behind the throne, and drive him out of the kingdom. Thomas earl of Lancaſter, the king's couſin-german, the richeſt and moſt powerful nobleman in the kingdom, was at the head of the diſcontented barons, who had a meeting in the refectory of Weſtminſter abbey, a few days after the coronation, and petitioned the king to baniſh Gaveſton

Indignation of the nobility againſt Gaveſton.

9 Walſing. p. 95, 96. Rymer, t. 3. p. 59.
10 Rymer, t. 3. p. 63, &c. M. Weſtmonſt. Contin.

out

out of the kingdom. But he declined giving any answer to this petition till after Easter, when the parliament was to meet [11]. The barons, being sensible that force alone could prevail upon the king to grant a petition so contrary to his inclination, employed the interval in providing such a force; and had several meetings, at Ware, Northampton, and other places; in which they bound themselves by oath to stand by one another in procuring the banishment of Gavaston [12]. A.D. 1308.

The parliament met at Westminster on the 28th of April; to which the earl of Lancaster, and the barons of his party, came, attended with so great an armed force, that the king was in no condition to deny them any thing. Their demands, however, were more moderate than might have been expected. They insisted only, that Gavaston should be banished out of England for life; that he should depart out of the kingdom before Midsummer next, and take an oath never to return; without requiring the confiscation of his great estate, or calling him to account for the immense sums of the public money which he had converted to his own use [13]. The king, though with extreme reluctance, consented to the banishment of his favourite, and granted his letters-patent to that purpose [14]. Parliament.

[11] M. Westmonst. Contin.
[12] Chron. St. Augustt.
[13] Trivit. Contin. p. 5. Heming. p. 245.
[14] Rymer, t. 3. p. 80.

As

A.D.1308. Gavaſton made lord lieutenant of Ireland.

As ſoon as the parliament was diſmiſſed, Edward gave his favourite freſh proofs of his unabating fondneſs, by granting him ſeveral large eſtates, both in England and Gaſcony [15]; and when he found it impoſſible to retain him any longer near his perſon, without incurring both the cenſures of the church and the dangers of a civil war, inſtead of ſending him into Gaſcony, as the diſcontented barons expected, he appointed him lord lieutenant of Ireland, and accompanied him to Briſtol in his way to that kingdom [16]. Gavaſton ſpent about a year in Ireland, living in royal ſplendour, and diſplaying his military ſkill and courage, of which he poſſeſſed a conſiderable ſhare, in taking ſome caſtles, and defeating ſome parties of the rebellious Iriſh [17].

A.D.1309. Gavaſton recalled.

In the mean time Edward bore the abſence of his favourite with great impatience, and employed every art to pave the way for his return. He prevailed with the pope to abſolve Gavaſton from the oath which he had taken never to return to England [18]; and greatly ſoftened the reſentments of his moſt powerful enemies by favours and promiſes [19]. When all things were thus prepared, the favourite was recalled, and the infatuated prince flew to meet him at Cheſter about the end of June 1309 [20], and

[15] Rymer, t. 3. p. 87, &c.
[16] Id. ibid. p. 92, 93. M. Malmſ. Vita Edwardi II. p. 100.
[17] Daniel's Hiſt. Ed. II. in Kenet's Hiſt. vol. 1. p. 204.
[18] Rymer, t. 3. p. 91.
[19] Id. ibid. p. 78. M. Malmſ. p. 101.
[20] Leland's Collect. vol. 1. p. 248.

received

received him with the greateſt tranſports of joy, A.D. 1309.
and all the marks of the moſt fond affection. Edward had at this time ſo far regained the confidence of his nobility and other ſubjects, by many great conceſſions which he had made them [21], that he prevailed with the parliament, which met at Stamford, July 26, to approve of Gavaſton's return, and conſent to his remaining in England unmoleſted.

Miſconduct of Edward and Gavaſton.

If Edward and his favourite had been capable of becoming wiſer by their paſt difficulties, they might have enjoyed their preſent tranquillity much longer than they did. But being both equally vain and thoughtleſs, they abandoned themſelves to the moſt extravagant demonſtrations of joy. Nothing was to be ſeen at court but the moſt magnificent and expenſive feaſts, balls, and tournaments; at all which Gavaſton made the moſt conſpicuous figure, and eclipſed all the ancient nobility by the richneſs and ſplendour of his appearance, and the luſtre of royal favour [22]. Beſides this provoking diſplay of his proſperity, ſo apt to excite envy, he inflamed the reſentment of ſome of the moſt powerful barons, by turning them into ridicule, and giving them opprobrious and diſgraceful nicknames, calling the earl of Lancaſter, the firſt prince of the blood, and moſt potent nobleman in the kingdom, the *Stage-player*; the earl of Pembroke, *Joſeph the Jew*; the earl of Warwick, the *Black dog of Ardene*, &c. This imprudent

[21] See chap. 3.

[22] M. Malmſ. p. 103.

A.D.1309. conduct very ſoon produced its natural conſequences, and Gavaſton became the object of univerſal deteſtation. The diſcontented lords began to draw together, and appointed tournaments in ſeveral places, as a plauſible pretence for their meetings, which were in reality deſigned for contriving the deſtruction of the favourite [23].

A.D.1310. Parliaments. The king, in order to avoid the gathering ſtorm, made a progreſs into the north, and called a parliament, to meet at York on the 18th of October, in which Gavaſton took his place as earl of Cornwall. But the diſcontented and now confederated barons, pretending to dread ſome danger to their perſons from the power and treachery of the favourite, refuſed to attend this parliament; which, for that reaſon, was adjourned to meet at the ſame place on the 3d of February A. D. 1310 [24]. The ſame cauſe rendered this ſecond meeting ineffectual. The king, who was in great diſtreſs for money, being at length convinced that he could obtain no aid from his parliament, while the object of his affection, and of their deteſtation, was in view, reſolved to part with his favourite for a time, and ſent him out of the way.

Change in the conſtitution. After the departure of Gavaſton, the confederated lords no longer refuſed to come to a parliament, which met at Weſtminſter in Lent 1310 [25]; but they came attended (contrary to a royal proclamation)

[23] Rymer, t. 3. p. 208. 222, &c.
[24] Heming. t. 1. p. 246.
[25] Id. ibid. Mon. Malmſ. p. 104.

clamation[26]) with ſuch numbers of armed follow- A.D. 1310.
ers, that they were entire maſters both of king and parliament. This enabled them to make that temporary change in the conſtitution, more fully related in the third chapter of this book; and of inveſting twelve of their own number, under the title of *Ordainers*, with a kind of dictatorial authority, which they were to enjoy till Michaelmas in the year following; and the king granted a commiſſion for chuſing theſe ordainers on the 16th March 1310[27].

Edward reſolves to proſecute the war with Scotland.

After Edward had made this great conceſſion to pleaſe the confederated barons, and the other buſineſs of this ſeſſion of parliament was ended, he began to turn his views northward, and to think of doing ſomething in earneſt in the war with Scotland, which had languiſhed ever ſince his acceſſion to the throne[28].

Robert Bruce reduces a great part of Scotland.

If Edward had proſecuted the war with Scotland, in the firſt year of his reign, with any vigour, the total and final conqueſt of that country would, in all human probability, have been the conſequence. All the places of ſtrength in that kingdom were already in his poſſeſſion; the far greateſt part of the nobility and people had ſubmitted to the Engliſh government; the potent family of the Comyns, with ſome others, had cordially embraced the Engliſh intereſt; and a long and dangerous ſickneſs with which Robert Bruce, the new king of

[26] Rymer, t. 3. p. 200. [27] Ryley, p. 526. Rymer, t. 3. p. 204. 220. [28] Rymer, t. 3. p. 222.

A.D. 1310. Scots, was ſeized at that time, would have facilitated the ſucceſs of the enterpriſe. But Edward, by his haſty return into England, and the ſubſequent errors of his conduct, loſt all theſe advantages, never to be regained. For as ſoon as Bruce recovered his health, he applied himſelf with great ſpirit to improve the favourable opportunity which the imprudence of Edward and the diſtractions of the Engliſh government put into his hand; and by a ſeries of wiſe, vigorous, and ſucceſsful meaſures, in the ſpace of three years he reduced all Scotland, except a few fortreſſes, under his obedience.

Edward invades Scotland.

At length Edward ſummoned all the military vaſſals of the crown to meet him at Berwick, with their troops, on the 8th of September 1310, in order to an expedition into Scotland. This ſummons was but ill obeyed; ſeveral of the confederated lords remaining in London to attend the twelve ordainers, who were employed in preparing their ordinances for the reformation of the government[29]. Edward, however, marched into Scotland at the head of a conſiderable army; and Bruce declining an engagement, and retiring into the north, he advanced as far as Linlithgow without ſeeing an enemy; but was ſoon obliged, for want of proviſions, to return with his army to Berwick. He ſpent the winter in this place, happy in the ſociety of his beloved Gavaſton, who had lately emerged from his retreat[30].

29 Mon. Malmſ. p. 105, 106. Heming. p. 247, 248.
30 Id. ibid.

Edward

Edward ſent his favourite with an army into Scotland (in March 1311), to gather laurels, and abate the general odium againſt him. Gavaſton penetrated a great way into the country; but not being able to bring the Scots to an engagement, he returned without performing any action of eclat. After his return, Edward ſet out for London to hold a parliament, which was ſummoned to meet there on the 8th of Auguſt, and continued to ſit till the 10th of October. A.D. 1311. Gavaſton's expedition into Scotland.

In this parliament the famous ordinances compoſed by the twelve ordainers were debated; and at length, with much reluctance, confirmed by the king, and ſworn to by the lords and commons, and copies of them, under the great ſeal, ſent to all the ſheriffs of England [31]. Ordinances confirmed.

By one article of theſe ordinances, Piers Gavaſton was, for many crimes therein enumerated, to be baniſhed for ever out of all the king's dominions, and to depart before the 1ſt of November next, under the penalty of being treated as a common enemy to the king and kingdom [32]. Gavaſton baniſhed.

After his favourite was thus once more torn from him, Edward retired into the north, and took up his reſidence at York. Unable to live long without his beloved Gavaſton, he recalled him from Flanders, the place of his retreat [33]; received him at his arrival with the greateſt tranſports of A.D. 1312. Gavaſton recalled.

[31] Mon. Malmſ. p. 110—113. J. de Trokelowe, p. 7, 8. Brady's Hiſt. vol. 3, p. 102, 119. Append. N° 50, &c.
[32] Mon. Malmſ. p. 114, &c. [33] J. Trokelowe, p. 8.

A.D.1312. joy; heaped new favours upon him; and publiſhed a proclamation, declaring that his baniſhment had been illegal [34].

Civil war. This imprudent meaſure rekindled the reſentment of the confederated barons; who immediately drew together, raiſed an army, and, having appointed the earl of Lancaſter their general, directed their march northward [35]. The confederates now received a great acceſſion of ſtrength, by the junction of the earl of Warrenne to their party, and by the general diſſatisfaction with the king, and rage againſt the favourite, which prevailed amongſt the people.

Edward and Gavaſton retire. In the mean time, the king and Gavaſton ſpent their time in pleaſure, and in the moſt profound ſecurity, at York, without taking any meaſures to meet or diſſipate the approaching ſtorm. At length, when they heard that the confederate army was near, they retired firſt to Newcaſtle, and then to Tinmouth, where they embarked with a ſmall retinue, and arrived at Scarborough. The king having put Gavaſton into the caſtle of that place, which was eſteemed impregnable, marched on to York, in order to raiſe an army, to make head againſt his enemies [36].

Gavaſton beſieged in Scarborough caſtle, and taken. As ſoon as the earl of Lancaſter received intelligence of this, he marched from Newcaſtle, and, detaching the earls of Pembroke and Surry, and

34 Rym. Fœd. t. 3. p. 298.
35 Walſing. p. 100. J. Trokelowe, p. 10. Mon. Malmſ. p. 118.
36 Walſing. p. 101. Mon. Malmſ. p. 119. J. Trokelowe, p. 16.

Henry

Henry de Percy, with a ſufficient body of troops, A.D. 1312.
to beſiege the caſtle of Scarborough, he poſted himſelf between that place and York, to prevent all communication between the king and Gavaſton [37]. The king, trembling for the ſafety of his favourite, and unable to relieve him by force, ſent his royal mandate to the beſiegers, commanding them to deſiſt from their enterpriſe [38]. But ſlighting this command, they puſhed the ſiege with vigour; and Gavaſton, finding the place deſtitute of proviſions for a long defence, capitulated on the 19th of May; and ſurrendered himſelf to the earl of Pembroke and Henry de Percy, on condition that he ſhould be kept ſafe in their cuſtody till the firſt of Auguſt next: that in the mean time endeavours ſhould be uſed for bringing about a general accommodation; but if that did not take place, he ſhould then be reſtored to the caſtle of Scarborough, in the ſame condition in which he left it: and for the obſervation of theſe conditions theſe two noblemen pledged all their lands [39].

Gavaſton executed.

The earl of Pembroke having thus got the perſon of the hated Gavaſton into his poſſeſſion, conducted him to the caſtle of Deddington, near Banbury, in Oxfordſhire. Here the earl left him in the cuſtody of his ſervants, and went to ſpend a few days with his lady, who reſided in that neighbourhood [40]. In the mean time, on Saturday 17th

37 J. Trokelowe, p. 17. 38 Rym. Fœd. t. 3. p. 327, 328.
39 Rym. Fœd. t. 3. p. 334. Mon. Malmſ. p. 120.
40 Walſing. p. 101. T. de la More, p. 593.

A.D. 1312. June, very early in the morning, the caſtle of Deddington was beſet by a great body of armed men, commanded by Guy earl of Warwick; and Gavaſton finding his guards neither able nor willing to defend him, ſurrendered himſelf into the hands of that earl, his moſt furious and implacable enemy, who carried him to his caſtle of Warwick. As ſoon as this event was known, the earls of Lancaſter, Hereford, and Arundel, the chiefs of the confederacy, repaired to Warwick; and after ſome conſultation they agreed to put their priſoner to death, as a traitor and public enemy, without any regard to the capitulation, and without any formal trial. In conſequence of this reſolution, on the 1ſt July, the three earls with their followers conducted the wretched Gavaſton to Blacklow-hill, near Warwick, where they beheld his head ſevered from his body by the hands of the executioner, with ſome degree of that ſavage pleaſure which party-rage is too apt to inſpire on ſuch occaſions [41].

Peace between Edward and the confederated barons.

Edward, when he received the news of his beloved favourite's death, was filled with inexpreſſible grief, and with the moſt furious reſentment againſt its authors [42]. He haſtened to London, and applied himſelf with uncommon ſpirit, to collect money, and raiſe an army: but as he had loſt the affections of the greateſt part of his ſubjects, his endeavours

[41] Dugdale Baron. vol. 2. p. 44. Walſing. p. 101. T. de la More, p. 592. Mon. Malmſ. p. 123. J. Trokelowe, p. 18.

[42] Mon. Malmſ. p. 126.

were

were not very ſucceſsful; and he ſoon heard, that A.D.1312.
the confederated barons were approaching the capital at the head of a much more powerful army than he could bring into the field. This diſpoſed him to liſten to milder counſels; and the count of Evreux, the queen's uncle, cardinal Arnaud, the pope's nuncio, and the earls of Glouceſter and Richmond, interpoſing their good offices, a treaty was ſet on foot between the king and the barons. While this treaty was depending, the queen was delivered of her eldeſt ſon, prince Edward, at Windſor, on the 13th of November[43]. This happy event is ſaid to have put the king into ſuch a good humour, that it contributed greatly to facilitate the ſucceſs of the negotiations; and a pacification was concluded, December 20, on the following terms: "That the barons ſhould come "before the king in Weſtminſter-hall, and aſk his "pardon on their knees; that they ſhould reſtore "the horſes, arms, jewels, plate, &c. belonging to "Gavaſton, which they had ſeized at Newcaſtle; "and that a full pardon ſhould be paſſed in the "next parliament to the barons and their ad"herents, for the death of Gavaſton, and all "other crimes and miſdemeanors[44]."

Though the armies on both ſides were diſband- A.D.1313.
ed, and ſome appearance of tranquillity reſtored by The king and queen viſit the court of France.
this pacification, the reconciliation between the

[43] Rymeri Fœd. t. 3. p. 358.

[44] Id. ibid. p. 366, 367, 368. Walſing. p. 102. J. Trokelowe, p. 19, 20. Mon. Malmſ. p. 129—135.

king

A.D.1313. king and the barons was far from being cordial. Edward, who had not yet forgot his reſentment for the death of his favourite, was in no haſte to call a parliament, and grant the pardon he had promiſed; and the barons, jealous of his ill intentions, kept at a diſtance from court, and in a poſture of defence. Whilſt affairs were in this unſettled ſtate, Edward, having conſtituted his nephew the earl of Glouceſter guardian of the kingdom, embarked at Dover for France May 23, with his queen, and a ſplendid retinue, to be preſent at the knighting and coronation of Lewis king of Navarre, his brother-in-law, on June 3, at Paris[45]. Before his departure a parliament had been called to meet at Weſtminſter July 8, and he ſent over a commiſſion to the biſhops of Bath and Worceſter, and the earls of Glouceſter and Richmond, to hold that parliament[46]. But his abſence rendered this meeting abortive, and increaſed the diſcontent and jealouſy of the barons, who now became impatient to obtain the promiſed pardon, and began to talk of having recourſe to arms.

King and barons reconciled.

The king arriving from France July 16, and being made ſenſible that it was dangerous to trifle any longer with the diſcontented barons, ſummoned a parliament to meet September 23, at Weſtminſter[47]. At this parliament, by the mediation of the queen, the prelates, and the earl of Glouceſter, the pacification between the king and the

[45] Rymeri Fœd. t. 3. p. 393.
[46] Id. ibid. p. 422.
[47] Id. ibid. t. 3. p. 416.

barons

barons was completed. The barons came into Weſtminſter-hall, and implored the king's pardon on their knees: the king publiſhed a general pardon to the barons and all their adherents October 16, and the day after he granted particular pardons, under the great ſeal, to the earls of Lancaſter, Hereford, and Warwick, and about five hundred knights and gentlemen of their party, by name [48]. The king feaſted the earl of Lancaſter and the barons of his party, and was feaſted by them; and as a ſtill more ſubſtantial proof of their reconciliation, the barons and knights of ſhires granted the king a twentieth, and the citizens and burgeſſes a fifteenth, of their moveables, to enable him to carry on the war againſt Scotland [49]. A.D. 1313.

Robert Bruce, who was now generally acknowledged by his own ſubjects, and by foreign nations, as king of Scots, having made the beſt advantage of theſe diſſenſions, which reigned ſo long in England, had reduced all Scotland under his obedience before the beginning of the year 1314, except the caſtles of Stirling, Dunbar, and Berwick. He had alſo reſtored order to the civil government, and authority to the laws; extinguiſhed the Engliſh faction, revived the ſpirits, and united the hearts, of the Scots, in defence of their king and country. Nay, this wiſe and intrepid prince had even made ſeveral bold incurſions into England, and returned loaden with the ſpoils of his enemies [50]. A.D. 1314. State of Scotland.

[48] Rymeri Fœd. t. 3. p. 443. 445. 447.
[49] Mon. Malmſ. p. 141.
[50] Id. p. 144.

It

A.D.1314. Edward prepares for a formidable invaſion of Scotland.

It was now high time for the Engliſh, as ſoon as their internal tranquillity was reſtored, to think ſeriouſly of avenging theſe injuries, and recovering the dominion of Scotland, which they had loſt by their inteſtine broils. With theſe views, Edward applied with great vigour to the raiſing of money, collecting proviſions, arms, ſhips, and forces, for a formidable expedition into Scotland, which might decide the fate of that kingdom at a ſingle blow, and reduce it once more under the Engliſh yoke [51]. He inliſted troops in Flanders, and other foreign countries; ſent for his military vaſſals in Gaſcony, Ireland, and Wales; and ſummoned all the warlike power of England to meet him at Newcaſtle upon Tyne, three weeks after Eaſter [52]. The earls of Lancaſter, Arundel, Surry, and Warwick, only ſent their vaſſals, not thinking fit to truſt themſelves in the king's power [53]. But in general this ſummons was ſo well obeyed, that Edward found himſelf at the head of the greateſt army that ever marched out of England into Scotland, attended by an incredible number of carriages, loaded with arms, proviſions, and baggage of all kinds [54]. Every thing being ready, he moved from Berwick June 18, directing his march towards Stirling caſtle, the relief of which was the immediate object of this mighty armament, and arrived by eaſy marches, and without any oppoſition, within three miles of

[51] Rymeri Fœd. t. 3. p. 432. 463. 475.
[52] Id. ibid. p. 476, 477, &c.
[53] Walſing. p. 104.
[54] Mon. Malmſ. p. 146, 147.

that place, on June 24. Here the Scotch army preſented itſelf to view, drawn up on the north banks of the little river Bannock, directly in the road to Stirling [55]. A.D. 1314.

Number and diſpoſition of the Scotch army.

Scotland had been ſo long in a ſtate of war, and ſo often deſolated by the Engliſh armies under Edward I. that it was now thinly inhabited; and king Robert, with all his efforts, could not collect above thirty thouſand men to defend his crown and kingdom againſt ſo formidable an invaſion. With this army, however, being the greateſt he could raiſe, he reſolved to ſtand his ground, depending on their determined courage, and declared reſolution to die or conquer. He choſe his ground with great judgement, having a mountain on his right, a moraſs on his left, and a ſmall river in front. To render the approach of the enemies cavalry, in which they abounded, ſtill more difficult and dangerous, he had dug many pits along the banks of the river, into which he had driven ſtakes, ſharpened at the head, and very artfully covered them with turfs and ruſhes [56]. There were ſome ſkirmiſhes between detached parties of cavalry on the evening in which the armies came in ſight; in one of which the king of Scots gave a proof of his ſtrength, dexterity, and courage, which greatly raiſed the hopes of his army, by cleaving Henry de Bohun to the chin, with a battle-axe, at the head of his troop [57]. But the day being too far ſpent for a general engagement,

[55] Mon. Malmſ. p. 146, 147. Walſing. p. 105.
[56] T. de la More, p. 594.
[57] Mon. Malmſ. p. 147, 148.

A.D.1314. ment, both armies retired to their ground, and waited with equal impatience the return of light.

Battle of Bannockburn. This ſhort night is ſaid to have been ſpent in a very different manner by the different armies. The Engliſh, deſpiſing an enemy whom they had ſo often conquered, confident of victory from their ſuperior numbers, and abounding in proviſions of all kinds, ſpent the hours in mirth and jollity. The Scots, ſenſible that the moment which muſt determine the fate of their country, and make them and their poſterity either a free or a dependant people, was approaching, employed the awful interval in acts of devotion, and in mutual exhortations to conquer nobly or die bravely. As ſoon as the dawn appeared, both armies began to put themſelves in order of battle. The earl of Glouceſter, who commanded the Engliſh cavalry, full of youthful ardour, and diſputing the poſt of honour with the earl of Hereford, advanced to the attack with too much precipitation, fell among the covered pits, was thrown from his horſe, and killed [58]. This diſaſter threw the cavalry into ſome confuſion; and Sir James Douglas, who commanded the van of the Scotch army, making a furious attack upon them at the ſame inſtant, completed their diſorder, and put them to a total rout [59]. The infantry, obſerving with aſtoniſhment the defeat of their horſe, and ſeeing another army, as they imagined, marching along the hills, (which

[58] T. de la More, p. 594. Mon. Malmſ. p. 147, 148.
[59] Id. ibid. p. 149.

was

was only the waggoners and boys in the Scotch camp, furniſhed with ſtandards to make the appearance of an army at a diſtance,) were ſeized with a panic, and fled, without ſtriking a blow, or coming near an enemy. In this deplorable ſcene of confuſion the unhappy Edward diſcovered no want of perſonal courage, and was with much difficulty perſuaded to quit the field of battle, and ſave himſelf by flight[60]. By the moſt moderate accounts of contemporary hiſtorians, there fell in this battle, or were taken priſoners, of earls, barons, and knights, 154, of gentlemen 700, and of common ſoldiers above 10,000[61]. As this great defeat happened early in the morning on Midſummer day, at the diſtance of eighty miles from any place of ſafety, very few of the flying army would have eſcaped with life and liberty, if many of the Scotch ſoldiers had not preferred the plunder of the Engliſh camp (where they found an immenſe booty) to the purſuit of their enemies[62]. Such was the fatal defeat of Bannockburn, which for ſome time greatly ſunk the ſpirits of the Engliſh nation, eſtabliſhed Robert Bruce on the throne of Scotland, and reſtored the long-diſputed independency of that kingdom[63]. A.D. 1314.

Unhappy ſtate of England.

Edward remained about three weeks at Berwick, whither he had eſcaped, and then ſet out for York, to hold a parliament, which was ſummoned to

60 Mon. Malmſ. p. 151. J. Trokelowe, p. 27.
61 Walſing. p. 105. T. de la More, p. 594.
62 Mon. Malmſ. p. 152.
63 Walſing. p. 106. Mon. Malmſ. p. 152, 153.

meet

A.D.1314. meet there on Auguſt 15[64]. England was at this time a ſcene of great diſtreſs and miſery; diſpirited by defeat, diſtracted by faction, depopulated by famine, and deſolated by an army of Scots, who had made an incurſion into the northern counties. But the earl of Lancaſter, and the barons of his party, who had not been in the late battle, inſtead of flying to the relief of their bleeding country, took that opportunity to promote their own ambitious views; and the king being unable to make any reſiſtance to their will, they turned all his officers and ſervants out of their places, which they took to themſelves, or beſtowed on their dependents[65]. The remainder of this unfortunate year was ſpent in fruitleſs overtures for peace, and in exchanging priſoners. Bruce now received his wife, his daughter Marjory, then his only child, his ſiſter Chriſtina, and all the lords and gentlemen who had been priſoners in England ſince the time of Edward I. in exchange for ſome of the earls, barons, and others, who had been taken at the battle of Bannockburn[66].

A.D.1315. State of England. Though the whole power was now in the hands of the earl of Lancaſter and his partiſans, the nation reaped no advantage from their adminiſtration. The famine ſtill continued to rage with great violence; and the imprudent methods uſed by a parliament aſſembled the 20th January, to remedy that evil, by ſetting a fixed price on all kinds of

64 Rymer, t. 3. p. 493. Walſing. p. 106.
65 Mon. Malmſ. p. 154. 66 Rymer, Fœd. t. 3. p. 489, &c. Walſing. p. 106. Mon. Malmſ. p. 155.

proviſions,

proviſions, rather increaſed it[67]. The Scots, who were afflicted with the ſame calamity, fought relief by making incurſions into England; and though ſome troops were ſent into the north, yet no effectual care was taken to prevent them[68]. A.D.1315.

Expedition of Edward Bruce into Ireland.

The Scots were ſo much elated by their late ſucceſſes, that they began to entertain hopes of conquering another kingdom. The Iriſh had long borne the Engliſh yoke with impatience; and thinking this a favourable opportunity to throw it off, they invited Edward Bruce, brother to the king of Scots, to come over to their aſſiſtance with a body of troops, and promiſed to make him king of Ireland. Edward, naturally ambitious and enterpriſing, joyfully accepted the invitation; and landed near Carrickfergus, May 26, with a ſmall but ſelect army of 6000 men; and being joined by ſome Iriſh chieftains, he had ſeveral actions with the Engliſh, with various ſucceſs[69].

A.D.1316. Lancaſtrian party predominant.

At a parliament held at Lincoln in the months of January and February, the king having once more confirmed the famous ordinances, and ſubmitted to every condition impoſed upon him by the Lancaſtrian faction, an expedition againſt Scotland was reſolved upon; the earl of Lancaſter was declared the chief of the king's council, and general of the army, which was to aſſemble at Newcaſtle 8th July[70].

[67] Walſing. p. 106, 107. J. Trokelowe, p. 30, 31.
[68] Walſing. p. 106, 107. [69] Annals of Ireland in Camden. Trivet. Contin. p. 28. Walſing. p. 107.
[70] Rymer. Fœd. t. 3, p. 557—563.

A.D.1316. Expedition of Robert Bruce into Ireland.

It is not a little ſurpriſing, that while he was threatened with ſo formidable an invaſion from England, Robert Bruce ſhould think of leaving his kingdom, and invading Ireland. This renders it highly probable, that there was ſome foundation for what was ſurmiſed by the enemies of the earl of Lancaſter; that there was a ſecret correſpondence between that earl and the king of Scots[71]. However this may be, Robert made an expedition into Ireland this year, to aſſiſt his brother in the conqueſt of that kingdom; but a dreadful famine raging in that country, and a great mortality breaking out in his army, he was obliged to return without effecting any thing conſiderable, leaving his brother and his truſty followers to ſtruggle ſome time longer with theſe difficulties.

Intended expedition againſt Scotland diſappointed.

While the king of Scots, with the flower of his nobility and fighting men, were abſent, Scotland ſeemed to invite an invader, and preſent the Engliſh with a favourable opportunity of recovering all their loſſes. King Edward ſeems to have been diſpoſed to ſeize this opportunity; for he came to Newcaſtle at the time appointed for the rendezvous of the army. But the earl of Lancaſter, with the barons of his party, and their followers, not appearing, the intended invaſion never took effect[72].

A.D.1317. Attempt of the pope to make a

The war which had continued ſo long between England and Scotland, had prevented the Engliſh for many years from taking any part in the affairs

[71] Mon. Malmſ. p. 173.
[72] Walſing. p. 107. Rymer. Fœd. t. 3. p. 568.

of

of the Holy Land; though Edward II. had aſ- A.D.1317.
ſumed the croſs a little before his father's death. peace between England and Scotland unſucceſsful.
But the pope about this time projecting a new croiſade, reſolved, if poſſible, to bring about a pacification between the two Britiſh kingdoms, that Edward might be at liberty to fulfil his vow. With this view he publiſhed, by his own authority, a truce between them for two years, threatening thoſe who did not obſerve it with excommunication [73]; and ſent over two cardinals to negotiate a peace. Theſe cardinals arriving in England in July, and having waited on Edward at Nottingham, proceeded towards Scotland. But Robert Bruce, being diſſatisfied with the letters which they had ſent to acquaint him of their coming, in which they gave him only the title of *Governor of Scotland*, would not ſuffer them to enter his kingdom, paid no regard to the truce which the pope had publiſhed, and equally ſlighted the excommunication and interdict which followed [74]: a proof that this prince was poſſeſſed of a ſpirit ſuperior to the wretched and ſlaviſh ſuperſtition of the age in which he lived!

The diſſenſions in England between the royal party and that of the earl of Lancaſter, were again revived, and raged at this time with the greateſt violence. The royaliſts did not ſcruple to accuſe that earl of treaſon, for not coming to the rendezvous at Newcaſtle the former year, and for not Civil diſſenſions between the royal and Lancaſtrian parties.

[73] Rymer. Fœd. t. 3. p. 594. 611. 635.
[74] Id. ibid. p. 707. 727.

A.D.1317. attending two meetings of parliament this year, the one at Clarendon, the other at Weſtminſter; by which theſe meetings were rendered abortive [75]. The earl excuſed himſelf, by alleging that his enemies at court had formed deſigns againſt his life. Theſe political animoſities were much inflamed by a family quarrel, which broke out at this time between the earl of Lancaſter and his lady, whoſe cauſe was warmly eſpouſed by the royal party. Alice counteſs of Lancaſter, only child of Henry earl of Lincoln, had been the greateſt heireſs perhaps that ever was in England, and brought her huſband an immenſe acceſſion both of wealth and power; but being diſſatisfied with his conduct, ſhe made an elopement on Monday, May 9, and was received and protected by John de Warrenne earl of Surrey, at his caſtle of Riegate [76]. This was furiouſly reſented by the earl of Lancaſter, who flew to arms, and took ſeveral caſtles belonging to the earl of Surrey, and ſome belonging to the king [77]. But when a civil war was thus kindled, the two cardinals above mentioned, the earl of Pembroke, and ſome other noblemen, interpoſed; and, by their mediation, an accommodation was patched up, by which all differences were referred to a parliament, appointed to meet at Lincoln January 27, next year [78].

A.D.1318. The earl of Lancaſter keeping his forces ſtill on foot, the meeting of parliament was put off from

The Lancaſtrian party prevails.

[75] Mon. Malmſ. p. 177. [76] Walſing. p. 108, 109.
[77] Rymer. Fœd. t. 3. p. 672, 673.
[78] Id. ibid. p. 668.

time

time to time; and it did not actually aſſemble till the month of July, at Northampton [79]. At this meeting the earl carried every point to his mind. The famous ordinances were again confirmed, and a ſtanding council, of eight biſhops, four earls, and four barons, appointed, who were conſtantly to attend the king by turns, four every quarter; without whoſe advice he was to perform no act of government [80]. A.D. 1318.

As Robert Bruce owed his crown, and the Scots the recovery of their independency, to the diſcords and factions in England, ſo they ſtill continued to make advantage of theſe diſcords: for, on the 2d of April this year, they recovered the important town and caſtle of Berwick, and puſhed their deſtructive incurſions into England, as far as Yorkſhire [81]. Berwick recovered by the Scots.

After the pacification of Northampton, the Engliſh began to turn their eyes northward, and to think of putting a ſtop to the career of their enemies. With this view a parliament was held at York in October [82]. While this parliament was ſitting, Edward received the joyful news, that the Engliſh, under the command of John lord Bermingham, had obtained a complete victory over the Scots in Ireland, on the 14th October, near Dundalk; and that Edward Bruce, with almoſt all Intended invaſion of Scotland fruſtrated.

79 Rymer, vol. 3. p. 696. 712.
80 Id. ibid. p. 722. Mon. Malmſ. p. 185, 186
81 T. de la More, p. 594. Meremuth. p. 53. Walſing. p. 111, 112. Fordun, l. 12. c. 37.
82 M. Weſtm. Contin. J. Trokelowe, p. 43. Rymer, vol. 3. p. 733, &c.

A.D.1318. his followers, had fallen in the field of battle [83]. He would gladly have taken advantage of this favourable event, and invaded the Scots in their own country, before they had recovered from their conſternation occaſioned by this great diſaſter. He even collected ſome forces for this invaſion; but the barons declining to engage in this expedition at ſo advanced a ſeaſon of the year, he was obliged to lay aſide the deſign [84].

A.D.1319. The Engliſh beſiege Berwick. Though Edward was very far from being a warlike prince, his animoſity againſt the Scots was ſo great, and his deſire of revenging the dreadful defeat of Bannockburn ſo ſtrong, that as ſoon as any degree of tranquillity was reſtored at home, he always reſumed his deſigns againſt Scotland. Having ſpent the winter in the north, he held a parliament at York in the ſpring of this year; in which an expedition againſt Scotland was reſolved upon. The barons and knights of ſhires granted an eighteenth, the citizens and burgeſſes a twelfth, and the clergy a tenth, to defray the expences of it; and all the military vaſſals of the crown were ſummoned to appear at Newcaſtle June 10 [85]. As all parties were now, in appearance at leaſt, united, the troops which came to the rendezvous formed a very numerous army, which, marching from Newcaſtle, inveſted Berwick by land, September 1, while a fleet from the cinque-ports blocked it up by ſea [86].

[83] T. de la More, p. 594. Trivet. Contin. p. 29. Mon. Malmſ. p. 187. Walſing. p. 111.
[84] Rymer, vol. 3. p. 742. 748. Walſing. p. 112.
[85] Mon. Malmſ. p. 190. Rymer, vol. 3. p. 787.
[86] Mon. Malmſ. p. 192.

The

A.D.1319. The Scots did not attempt the relief of Berwick; but formed a deſign of ſurpriſing and carrying off the queen of England, who lived in great ſecurity, with a ſlender guard, at a village near York. The execution of this deſign was committed to the renowned ſir James Douglas, with a body of choſen troops, who marched into England with great ſecrecy and expedition. But their intention being diſcovered, the queen was removed to a place of ſafety; and the archbiſhop of York, collecting the militia of the country, marched out September 20, and attacked the Scots. The prelate, and his undiſciplined followers, were routed with great ſlaughter by Douglas and his hardy veterans [87].

The Scots make an incurſion into England.

Siege of Berwick raiſed.

In the mean time the royal army before Berwick made little progreſs in the ſiege of that place; which was ſoon after raiſed, each party throwing the blame of this miſcarriage on the other [88]. Commiſſioners from England and Scotland met at Newcaſtle December 6, and, on the 21ſt of that month, concluded a truce between the two kingdoms for two years [89]. Thus ended this unfortunate campaign, which ſunk the character of king Edward ſtill lower in the eyes of his ſubjects, and contributed to revive the rage of party, which had been concealed, but not extinguiſhed.

A.D.1320. Parliament appointed, but did nothing.

Edward, after the concluſion of the truce with Scotland, ſummoned a parliament to meet at York

87 Walſing. p. 112. Mon. Malmſ. p. 192, 193, 194.

88 Mon. Malmſ. p. 194.

89 Rymer, vol. 3. p. 803—805. 809. 816.

A.D.1320. in January; but the earl of Lancaſter refuſing to attend, it broke up without doing any buſineſs of importance[90].

Edward's journey to France.

Though it was not uncommon in thoſe times for one king to hold territories of another by feudal tenure, nothing could be more inconvenient. This not only gave occaſion to frequent diſputes, but obliged the royal vaſſal to leave his own kingdom, to attend the court of the ſuperior of theſe territories, to ſwear fealty, and perform his homage, at the acceſſion of every new lord. The kings of England ſtill held the duchy of Guienne, and the county of Poictou, of the kings of France; and Philip the Long having lately mounted that throne, he ſummoned his royal vaſſal of England to attend his court, and would admit of no excuſe. Edward finding himſelf under a neceſſity of leaving his kingdom in its preſent unſettled ſtate, embarked for France on June 19, and returned from thence on July 22[91].

Parliament.

Soon after the king's return, a parliament was called, to meet at Weſtminſter October 6, in which ſeveral good laws were made, for reſtoring the internal police of the kingdom, which had been much relaxed by the late diſorders, and for vindicating the dominion of the crown of England over the narrow ſeas, which had been invaded by the Flemings[92]. But theſe ſalutary works of peace

[90] Rymer, vol. 3. p. 826. 835. 838, 839, 840.
[91] Id. ibid. p. 861. [92] Riley Placit. Par. p. 401.

were

were ſoon ſucceeded by the horrors of civil war and devaſtation. A.D. 1320.

Edward, naturally incapable of long application to ſerious buſineſs, fond of pleaſures and amuſements, and addicted to the attachments of private friendſhip to a degree which is hardly credible, had ſome time ago ſet his affections on a new favourite. This was Hugh Spenſer, chamberlain of the houſehold, a young gentleman of an ancient family, an ample fortune, and an amiable perſon; but extremely debauched, inſufferably inſolent, and inſatiably covetous. Edward had married him to Eleanor, the eldeſt ſiſter, and one of the three coheireſſes, of the late earl of Glouceſter; with whom he obtained almoſt the whole county of Glamorgan, as her ſhare of that great inheritance [93]. But this was far from ſatiating his unbounded avarice: he encroached on the ſhares of his two ſiſters-in-law, and on various pretences invaded the rights and properties of almoſt every baron and gentleman in the neighbourhood of his eſtates. This behaviour ſoon rendered him the object of general terror and deteſtation, and obliged all who either felt or feared his oppreſſions to conſpire his ruin, in order to prevent their own [94]. The earl of Hereford with many other lords in the marches of Wales, entering into a confederacy in the beginning of this year, raiſed an army, and com- A.D. 1321. Confederacy againſt the Spenſers.

[93] Dugdale Baron. vol. 1. p. 389.
[94] Mon. Malmſ. p. 204, &c. Walſing. p. 113.

mitted

A.D.1321. mitted dreadful ravages on Spenſer's eſtates in Glamorganſhire, and other weſtern counties. The confederates, to ſtrengthen their party, and complete the ruin of their enemy, entered into an aſſociation, on June 28, with the earl of Lancaſter and his partiſans; and they all, to the number of about fifty, ſubſcribed an inſtrument, binding themſelves to purſue the two Spenſers, father and ſon, till they had driven them out of the kingdom, or got them into their hands [95]. The elder Spenſer, whoſe name was alſo Hugh, was a perſon reſpectable for his age and wiſdom, and had long maintained a fair and honourable character; but, by ſharing too largely in the fruits of his ſon's favour with the king, he was involved in the ſame odium, and expoſed to the ſame accuſations with his ſon [96]. The confederates, who by the acceſſion of the earl of Lancaſter and his party, were become very powerful, advanced with their army towards London, deſtroying the houſes and plundering the eſtates of the elder Spenſer in their way. When they arrived at St. Alban's, they ſent a meſſage to the king, demanding the baniſhment of the two Spenſers; to which he returned this mild anſwer, that the elder Spenſer was beyond ſeas in his ſervice, and the younger at ſea guarding the cinque-ports; and that they could not be legally baniſhed without a trial. The confederates, far from being ſatisfied with this anſwer, advanced with their army,

[95] Walſing. p. 113. J. Trokelowe, p. 48, 49. Tyrrel, vol. 4. p. 280. [96] T. de la More, p. 594.

and took poſſeſſion of London, whoſe citizens generally favoured their cauſe [97]. A.D. 1321.

Edward was at this time holding a parliament at Weſtminſter, which he had ſummoned to meet there July 15, to put an end to theſe diſturbances in an amicable way. But the confederated lords, inſtead of attending the parliament, to which they had been ſummoned, held frequent conſultations amongſt themſelves in London; in which having drawn up a ſentence of forfeiture and baniſhment againſt the two Spenſers, father and ſon, they brought it down to Weſtminſter-hall, accompanied with an armed force, and got it confirmed by parliament [98]. In the ſame manner they obtained from the king in parliament, Auguſt. 19, a full pardon to themſelves and their followers, for all the treaſons, murders, and felonies, which they had committed, from the 1ſt of March to that day. After this, the confederated barons ſeparated and returned home [99]. The Spenſers baniſhed.

Though Edward found himſelf under a neceſſity of ſubmitting in this manner to the imperious dictates of the confederated barons, he bore the yoke with much uneaſineſs; and an incident happened ſoon after which greatly inflamed his reſentment. The queen going to Canterbury to perform ſome acts of devotion, ſent her marſhals to the caſtle of Leeds, belonging to the lord Bad- Civil war.

[97] Walſing. p. 114. J. Trokelowe, p. 48—52.
[98] Tyrrel, vol. 4. p. 282.
[99] Mon. Malmſ. p. 210, 211. Walſing. p. 114. Rymer, vol. 3. p. 891.

Ieſmere,

A.D.1321. leſmere, to take up her lodgings, and provide for her reception; but the lady Badleſmere refuſed, firſt, the marſhals, and afterwards the queen herſelf in perſon, admiſſion into the caſtle [100]. The haughty princeſs, enraged at this affront, flew back to London, and excited the king to avenge the indignity which had been offered her. Edward, who had many reaſons to be offended with Badleſmere, haſtily raiſed ſome troops, beſieged the caſtle of Leeds, and obliged it to ſurrender on the laſt day of October; and, to ſtrike terror into his enemies, he commanded the governor, and eleven inferior officers of the garriſon, to be hanged [101].

Succeſſes of Edward againſt the barons.

The Spenſers, hearing of this ſpirited and ſucceſsful exertion of the royal authority, adventured to return to England: their baniſhment was declared illegal; and they encouraged the king to purſue vigorous meaſures, and to take vengeance on all his enemies [102]. Many other powerful barons, as the earls of Kent and Norfolk the king's younger brothers, Pembroke, Richmond, Arundel, Surrey, Athol, Angus, &c. diſliking the violent meaſures of the confederates, and reſenting the force which had been put upon them in the late parliament, repaired to the royal ſtandard; and Edward ſoon ſaw himſelf at the head of a very powerful army. That he might give his enemies no time to renew their confederacy and prepare for their defence, he marched with great expedition,

[100] Walſing. p. 115. J. Trokelowe, p. 52.
[101] Walſing. p. 115. J. Trokelowe, p. 53.
[102] Rymer, vol. 3. p. 907.

about

about the middle of December, towards the borders of Wales. The royal army met with little oppoſition in its progreſs; the caſtles ſurrendered as ſoon as they were ſummoned, and the barons, ſurpriſed and unprepared, either fled, or ſurrendered themſelves, and were thrown into different priſons. The earl of Hereford, and ſome others, with about three thouſand followers, eſcaped into the north to join the earl of Lancaſter [103]. A.D. 1321.

As ſoon as the earl of Lancaſter had heard that the king was raiſing an army, he began to prepare for his own defence. With this view, he had called a meeting of his partiſans in the north, at Doncaſter, 29th November laſt [104]. No longer concealing his connections with the king of Scots, he ſent John de Moubray and Roger de Clifford to that prince, who entered into a formal alliance with the confederates, engaging to ſupport them with the whole power of his kingdom as ſoon as the truce expired. In conſequence of this alliance, he ſent a body of troops, under Thomas Randolf earl of Murray, and the lord James Douglas, two of his beſt generals, into Northumberland in the beginning of this year [105]. The earl of Lancaſter having collected his own numerous followers, being joined by the earl of Hereford, and depending on a powerful aſſiſtance from Scotland, no longer deſpaired of ſucceſs, and A.D. 1322. Lancaſter defeated and taken priſoner.

[103] Knyghton, col. 2540. Walſing. p. 116. Mon. Malmſ. p. 214.
[104] Rymer, vol. 3. p. 899.
[105] Rymer, vol. 3. p. 926, 927. Mon. Malmſ. p. 217. J. Trokelowe, p. 59.

marched

A.D. 1322. marched with his army to obſtruct the paſſage of the royaliſts over the Trent at Burton. The king having attempted to force a paſſage at this place in vain, for three days ſucceſſively, at length paſſed at a ford a few miles higher; and on March 10, the two armies came within ſight on the ſame ſide of the river. But the earl, either intimidated by the great numbers and reſolute countenances of the royaliſts, or thinking it imprudent to hazard a battle without his whole force, retired without fighting, and marched northward to meet the Scots, and ſome other troops, who had not yet joined him. This was a fatal reſolution; for this retreat looking like a flight, diſcouraged his followers, and made them deſert in great numbers. On the 16th March, when he came to Boroughbridge, he found an army on the other ſide of the river, under the command of ſir Simon Warde and ſir Andrew de Harcla, ready to diſpute the paſſage. The earl of Hereford was killed in attempting to force the bridge; and the earl of Lancaſter being repulſed in endeavouring to paſs the river at a ford, returned into the town of Boroughbridge, and was there taken next morning (with about a hundred barons and knights, and a much greater number of gentlemen), and carried priſoner to York. In this manner, theſe formidable confederates, who a few months before were predominant, were now either killed, captivated, or diſperſed [106].

[106] Waſing. p. 116. Mon. Malmſ. p. 218—222. J. Trokelowe, p. 53—58.

Edward,

Edward, now triumphant over all his enemies, arrived at Pontefract; and the earl of Lancaſter being brought thither from York, was, after a ſhort trial, condemned to be hanged, drawn, and quartered; but, by the king's lenity, was appointed to be beheaded [107]. On Monday, March 22, this once potent earl was carried out of Pontefract, his own chief reſidence, mounted on a lean horſe, without a bridle, in a ſordid dreſs, to a hill about a mile diſtant, and there beheaded, with the ſame circumſtances of mean and ſavage inſult which he had uſed towards Gavaſton a few years before [108]: a fate unworthy of his royal blood and princely fortunes, but not altogether unmerited by his factious, turbulent, and rebellious diſpoſition. About eighteen other barons and gentlemen of the party were executed, many eſcaped beyond ſeas, and a great number were confined in different priſons [109]. Of the many great eſtates which were forfeited on this occaſion, ſome few were beſtowed on the earls of Pembroke, Richmond, and other barons, who had ſupported the royal cauſe; but the far greateſt part of them was ſwallowed up by the blind abandoned avarice of the younger Spenſer [110].

A.D. 1322. Lancaſter executed.

If Edward had been capable of making a right uſe of his preſent victory, by exerciſing ſeverity to-

Edward's imprudent uſe of his victory.

107 Walſing. p. 116. J. Trokelowe, p. 61.
108 Walſing. p. 117. Rymer, vol. 3. p. 926.
109 Walſing. p. 119. T. de la More, p. 596. J. Trokelowe, p. 63. Knyghton, col. 2541.
110 Rymer, vol. 3. p. 940, 941. Dugd. Bar. vol. 1. p. 392, 393.

wards

A.D. 1322. wards a few of the moſt criminal and dangerous of the vanquiſhed party, ſhowing mercy to all the reſt, and thereby gaining their affections, and dividing the ſpoils with an equal and prudent hand amongſt the loyal barons, he would have laid a ſolid foundation for the future peace and tranquillity of his reign. But, by ſuffering his rapacious favourite to ſeize almoſt the whole, he drove his enemies to deſpair, and left his friends in diſcontent.

Parliament. In a parliament which met at York on the 2d May, ſuch of the famous ordinances (ſo ſtrenuouſly ſupported by the Lancaſtrian party) as were inconſiſtent with the juſt rights of the crown were repealed, the late ſentence againſt the Spenſers declared illegal, and an expedition againſt Scotland reſolved upon. The barons and knights of ſhires granted a tenth, the citizens and burgeſſes a ſixth of their movcables, and the clergy five pence in the mark of their annual revenues, to defray the expences of that expedition [111].

Expedition into Scotland. The rendezvous of the army was appointed to be on July 24, at Newcaſtle; from whence they marched into Scotland [112]. The prudent Bruce did not think fit to hazard an engagement with the Engliſh, now united amongſt themſelves, and flushed with their late victories; but retiring before them, and carrying away all kinds of proviſions, Edward and his army were ſoon reduced to great diſtreſs, and obliged to return into England [113].

[111] Rymer, vol. 3. p. 944. 952.
[112] Id. ibid. p. 952, 953.
[113] Walſing. p. 116, 117.

The

The Scots, following the rear of the retreating army, plundered the baggage, took the earl of Richmond and ſome others priſoners, almoſt ſurpriſed the king himſelf at Beland abbey, and carried their ravages to the gates of York [114]. A.D.1322.

Andrew de Hercla, who had lately been advanced to the earldom of Carliſle, and the government of the northern counties, for his good ſervice in taking the earl of Lancaſter, now entered into ſome ſecret engagements with the king of Scots of a ſuſpicious nature, for which he was condemned and executed as a traitor [115]. Thus ended this very buſy year, in the former part of which Edward had been favoured with a very uncommon flow of ſucceſs and proſperity. Andrew de Hercla executed.

Both the Britiſh nations being at length tired of this tedious and deſtructive war, negotiations for a long truce or peace were ſet on foot about the beginning of this year [116]. After many meetings between the Engliſh and Scotch commiſſioners, at Newcaſtle and other places, a truce was concluded on March 30, 1323, to continue for thirteen years, by which Robert Bruce, though not directly acknowledged king of Scotland, was left in full poſſeſſion of that kingdom [117]. Some endeavours were ſoon after uſed to change this truce into a perpetual peace; but without effect [118]. A.D.1323. Long truce between England and Scotland.

114 Walſing. p. 117. J. Trokelowe, p. 63, 64. Muremut. p. 9.

115 Rymer, vol. 3. p. 973. 980. Walſing. p. 118. Rymer, vol. 3. p. 999. vol. 4. p. 4. J. Trokelowe, p. 65, 66.

116 Rymer, vol. 3. p. 1001—1004.

117 Rymer, vol. 3. p. 1022. Adam Muremuth, p. 60. Chron. Hen. de Blanforde, p. 705, 706.

118 Rymer, vol. 4. p. 14.

A.D. 1323. Symptoms of approaching troubles.

England being now at peace with all her neighbours, and within herſelf, Edward and his favourite flattered themſelves that they had overcome all difficulties. But this was only a deceitful calm; and a diſcerning eye might have obſerved ſeveral ſigns of an approaching ſtorm. The Spenſers, though wallowing in wealth, and baſking in the ſunſhine of royal favour, could hardly appear in any place, without meeting with ſome indication of the public hatred. A band of deſperadoes, under the conduct of one Robert Lewer, ravaged the eſtates of Hugh, the father, lately created earl of Wincheſter, and even attempted to ſeize his perſon. Several plots were formed to ſurprize the royal caſtles, where the ſtate priſoners of the Lancaſtrian party were confined in order to ſet them at liberty; and the famous Roger Mortimer of Wigmore, one of the moſt daring and dangerous of that party, made his eſcape out of the tower of London, and got ſafe to France [119].

The king of France ſummons Edward to his court.

Philip *the Long*, king of France, having died in January 1322, was ſucceeded by his brother Charles *the Fair*, who, according to cuſtom, ſummoned the king of England to come and perform his homage for his French dominions. Edward, not having complied with this ſummons, received one more peremptory in Auguſt this year, in all the neceſſary forms of law, requiring him to appear at Amiens on July 1, 1324, at furtheſt. Some diſputes which had lately ariſen in Guienne, rendered

[119] Rymer, vol. 4. p. 20. Knyghton. M. Weſt. Contin. T. de la More, p. 596. Walſing. p. 120. Mon. Malmſ. p. 224, &c.

this

this affair more ſerious, and made the king of France inſiſt the more poſitively on Edward's performing his homage in perſon [120]. A.D. 1323.

While the day appointed for performing the homage was at a diſtance, Edward and his favourite enjoyed themſelves in great tranquillity; but when it drew near, they became uneaſy. A parliament was held at Weſtminſter in the beginning of Lent, which being conſulted on the expediency of the king's journey into France, adviſed to ſend an honourable embaſſy to endeavour to procure a delay. In conſequence of this advice, the earl of Kent, and the archbiſhop of Dublin, were ſent ambaſſadors to the court of France [121]. The ambaſſadors were honourably entertained, but had no ſucceſs in their negotiations. In the mean time the diſputes in Guienne had been ſucceeded by hoſtilities, which were puſhed with ſpirit and ſucceſs by the French; and Edward began to make ſome preparations in England for an expedition into that country, for the defence of his territories. When things were come to this criſis, a private intimation was given to the Engliſh ambaſſadors, that if the queen of England would come over, ſhe would prove the moſt ſucceſsful mediatrix, and procure an accommodation on the moſt favourable terms. The biſhop of Wincheſter then at Paris, took a journey to communicate this propoſal to the court of England [122]. A.D. 1324. Ambaſſadors ſent to France.

[120] Rymer, vol. 4. p. 74. 98. [121] Walſing. p. 120, 121.
[122] Rymer, vol. 4. p. 140. Walſing. p. 121.

A.D.1325. Queen Iſabella ſent to France, and makes a treaty.

Edward, glad of any expedient to avoid a war, and ſuſpecting no danger in this meaſure, complied with it, and ſent the queen to viſit her brother the king of France, and negotiate an accommodation between two princes to whom ſhe was ſo nearly related [123]. The firſt negotiations of this royal ambaſſadreſs were attended with all the ſucceſs which could have been expected from them. She, ſoon after her arrival, concluded a truce; and, on May 31, a definitive treaty of peace [124]. By this treaty, the diſputed duchy of Guienne was to be put into the hands of the king of France, who engaged to reſtore it to Edward as ſoon as he had done homage for it in perſon; and it was ſtipulated, that this ceremony ſhould be performed at Beauvais, on the 29th Auguſt. Though ſome of the terms of this treaty were not perfectly agreeable to Edward, yet, rather than loſe Guienne, or engage in a war, he confirmed it [125].

Spenſer oppoſes the king's voyage to France.

Hugh Spenſer, the king's favourite, was now in a moſt terrible dilemma. His averſion to this voyage to France had been the real cauſe of all the king's delays; and he had ſtrong reaſons for this averſion. On the one hand, he was no ſtranger to the ſecret enmity of queen Iſabella againſt him; and therefore durſt not accompany his maſter to the court of France, where ſhe might have opportunities of executing her vengeance. On the other hand, if he ſtaid behind, he was afaid of falling

[123] Adam Murimuth, p. 63. [124] Rymer, vol. 4. p. 153—156.
[125] Id. ibid. p. 156.

a victim

a victim to the public hatred, when no longer protected by the preſence of his ſovereign [126]. For theſe reaſons, Spenſer had always oppoſed this voyage with the greateſt violence. But a parliament, which met at London on June 25, having adviſed the king to execute the treaty, he ſeemed at length determined, and actually began his journey. He did not long perſiſt in this reſolution, ſo diſagreeable to his favourite; for, when he arrived at the abbey of Langedon, near Dover, he fell ſick, or pretended ſickneſs, and ſent to France to obtain a ſhort delay [127]. A.D. 1325.

When Edward and his favourite were in this perplexity, a new and unexpected overture came from the court of France, that, if the king of England would beſtow his French dominions on his ſon Edward prince of Wales, the king of France would accept of the homage of that prince, and grant him the inveſtiture of theſe territories. This propoſal, by the perſuaſion of Spenſer, was eagerly embraced by Edward, and executed with a rapidity which is hardly credible. The king conveyed all his French dominions to his ſon prince Edward, at Dover, on September 10; the prince ſailed from that port on the 12th, and did his homage to the king of France, at Beauvais, on the 14th of the ſame month [128]. But the unhappy king Edward had ſoon reaſon to repent of this precipitation. Edward ſurrenders his foreign dominions to his ſon, and ſends him to France.

[126] Mon. Malmſ. p. 238. [127] Rymer, vol. 4. p. 163.
[128] Du Tillet Recueil des Traités. Rymer, vol. 4. p. 165, 166. Walſing. p. 121. T. de la More, p. 592. Mon. Malmſ. p. 239.

A.D.1325. The queen refuſes to return to England.

If the dark deſigns which now began to be diſcloſed were really formed before the queen left England, and thoſe ſucceſſive overtures from the court of France were in conſequence of them, it muſt be confeſſed, that never any plot was laid with deeper policy, or executed with greater art; and a much wiſer prince than Edward might have fallen into the ſnare. However this may be, it now appeared, that queen Iſabella had far other ends in view than making peace between her brother and her huſband: for, when that was accompliſhed, and ſhe was invited to return home, ſhe plainly declared, ſhe never would return till Hugh Spenſer was baniſhed from the court and kingdom [129].

The queen's intrigue with Mortimer.

This declaration was like a clap of thunder to Edward and his favourite; and their conſternation was ſoon after much increaſed by the intelligence brought them by the biſhop of Exeter from the court of France. That wiſe and loyal prelate, who had been ſent by Edward as guardian and counſellor to the prince of Wales, having obſerved, that the queen of England was continually ſurrounded with the fugitives and exiles of the Lancaſtrian faction, and having even diſcovered the infamous and criminal nature of her connections with Roger Mortimer, who had lately made his eſcape out of the tower of London, he haſtened home in diſguiſe to inform his injured maſter of theſe diſcoveries [130].

[129] Walſing. p. 122. Mon. Malmſ. p. 240, 241.
[130] Mon. Malmſ. p. 249.

Edward,

Edward, greatly alarmed, both as a king and husband, wrote, in the most earnest manner, to the queen and prince to return home, and to the king of France to send them back. He called a council of his prelates and nobility to meet at Westminster, November 10, for their advice; and all the bishops agreed to write, in the strongest terms, to the queen to return with the prince her son [131]. But all these importunities were to no purpose. The cruel and perfidious Isabel, who had already injured Edward in his bed, had formed a plot to deprive him of his crown, perhaps of his life.

A.D. 1325. Edward's efforts to recover his queen and son.

Though the king of France had not the virtue and generosity to crush those plots which were forming in his court against his unhappy brother-in-law, he did not think fit openly to countenance and support them. This obliged Isabel and her accomplices to seek the protection of some other prince, to enable them to execute their designs. Edward was on friendly terms with the sovereigns of Spain, Portugal, and Flanders, which prevented the conspirators from applying to any of these powers, and obliged them to have recourse to William count of Hainault and Holland. A negotiation was commenced, and in a little time concluded with that prince, who engaged to furnish the queen with a small fleet and some troops, to enable her to make a descent upon England; in

A.D. 1326. Prince Edward contracted to Philippa of Holland.

[131] Rymer, vol. 4. p. 180, 181, 182. T. de la More, p. 598. Adam Muremuth, p. 65. Mon. Malmſ. p. 242, 243.

A.D.1326. return for which favour, a marriage was contracted, between the prince of Wales and Philippa, the count's ſecond daughter [132].

Edward's preparations.

Edward was not ignorant of theſe preparations which were making for an invaſion of his kingdom, and of the correſpondence which was carried on between the conſpirators abroad and the male-contents at home; and did what he could to ſecure himſelf, both againſt his foreign and domeſtic enemies. Orders were ſent to all the ſea-ports, to ſearch all paſſengers for letters, and to the ſheriffs to ſeize all ſuſpected perſons [133]. The warden of the cinque-ports, and the admirals of the north and ſouth, were ordered to have their fleets ready to oppoſe a deſcent [134]. All the military tenants of the crown were commanded, by proclamation, February 8, to have their followers in readineſs; and ſoon after the prelates received a like command. Orders were alſo iſſued to apprehend the emiſſaries of the queen and prince, and the ſpreaders of falſe reports againſt the king [135]. But all theſe royal mandates were very ill obeyed, and in many places entirely ſlighted.

The queen invades England.

The queen and her accomplices having ſpent the ſummer in making preparations for their intended expedition, embarked on board a ſmall fleet at the Port of Dort in Holland; and, after a ſtormy paſſage, arrived September 24, at Orewell haven,

132 T. de la More, p. 598. 133 Rymer, vol. 4. p. 183. 186, &c. 134 Id. ibid. p. 187, 188, &c.
135 Id. ibid. p. 200. 202.

near

near Walton, in Suffolk [136]. Beſides the queen and prince, there came over in this fleet the earl of Kent, who had been betrayed into this conſpiracy againſt his king and brother, Roger de Mortimer, the great mover of this enterpriſe, with 2757 men at arms, commanded by John de Beaumont, brother to the count of Hainault [137]. A ſmall force to invade ſo great a kingdom, and dethrone ſo great a king! But they brought with them a whole army of political lies; which did incredible execution, rendered the unhappy Edward odious and contemptible in the eyes of his ſubjects, and made the deluded people look on the perfidious Iſabel and the profligate Mortimer as the moſt illuſtrious patriots and deliverers of their country. A.D. 1326.

The queen publiſhes a manifeſto, and is joined by many.

The queen, ſoon after her landing, publiſhed an artful manifeſto, declaring, That ſhe intended no harm to any but the Spenſers, and their creatures; that the ſole deſign of her expedition was, to eaſe the people of their burdens, to reform the diſorders of the government, and improve the liberties of the church [138]. In a little time ſhe was joined by the earls of Norfolk, Leiceſter, Pembroke, and other barons; and by the biſhops of Norwich, Hereford, Ely, and Lincoln, with their followers, who compoſed a numerous and powerful army; with which ſhe advanced in purſuit of the king [139].

[136] Walſing. p. 123. Anglia Sacra, vol. 1. p. 366.
[137] Walſing. p. 123. M Malmſ. p. 243.
[138] Knyghton, col. 2764. Ypod. Neuſt. p. 508. Walſing. p. 124.
[139] Walſing. p. 123. Ypod. Neuſt. p. 507. T. de la More, p. 598. Adam Muremuth, p. 66.

Edward

A.D. 1326. Edward was at London when he received the news of the queen's landing; from whence he iſſued a proclamation, September 28, commanding all his ſubjects to make war upon and deſtroy theſe invaders, except the queen, prince, and earl of Kent; and publiſhed a reward of 1000 l. for the head of Mortimer [140]. Having attempted in vain to arm the citizens of London in his cauſe, he left that city, accompanied by the two Spenſers, chancellor Baldock, and a ſlender retinue, directing his march towards Briſtol, where he hoped to raiſe an army to oppoſe his enemies [141].

Edward leaves London.

Violences of the Londoners.

As ſoon as the king left London, the mob of that place aſſembled in great multitudes, and proceeded to the moſt outrageous acts of violence, plundering and murdering all whom they ſuſpected of having any connection with the Spenſers, or attachment to the king. Amongſt others, they ſeized the biſhop of Exeter, dragged him to the croſs in Cheapſide, cut off his head, and threw his body into the river [142].

Edward flees into Wales.

In the mean time the wretched king, abandoned almoſt by all the world, and cloſely purſued by a detachment of the queen's army, durſt not ſtay in Briſtol; but leaving that city under the command of the elder Spenſer, he paſſed over into Wales, in hopes of finding more loyalty among the ancient Britons [143].

[140] Rymer, vol. 4. p. 231—233. [141] Walſing. p. 123.
[142] T. de la More, p. 599. Walſing. p. 124.
[143] Adam Muremuth, p. 67. Walſing. p. 125.

Briſtol

Briſtol was immediately beſieged, and in a few days ſurrendered; by which Hugh Spenſer, the father, earl of Wincheſter, fell into the hands of his enemies; and the queen, with her whole army, coming to Briſtol on October 26, this venerable nobleman, in the ninetieth year of his age, was, the day after, without any formal trial, hanged upon a gibbet, and his body cut in pieces, and thrown to the dogs [144]. So much had civil rage hardened the hearts, and inflamed the paſſions, of the humane and generous Engliſh! A.D. 1326. Briſtol taken.

At the ſame time and place Edward prince of Wales was declared regent of the kingdom by the prelates and barons in the queen's army; which ſoon after marched to Hereford, where it continued about a month [145]. Here the earl of Arundel was condemned and executed as a traitor, though his chief crime ſeems to have been his having contracted an alliance with the Spenſers, by marrying his eldeſt ſon to a daughter of Hugh the younger [146]. Prince of Wales proclaimed regent.

The king, after his departure from Briſtol, having made an unſucceſsful attempt to raiſe an army in Wales, embarked for Ireland, in hopes of finding there ſome refuge from the purſuit of his enemies. But after beating about for ſeveral days in the Severn ſea, contending with contrary winds and ſtormy weather, he relanded near Swanſea, Edward taken. Spenſer executed.

144 Leland's Collectanea, vol. 1. p. 673. Walſingham, p. 125. T. de la More, p. 599.

145 Rymer, vol. 4. p. 237.

146 Knyghton, p. 2545.

and

A.D.1326. and concealed himſelf, with a few followers, in the monaſtery of Neath[147]. His retreat was ſoon diſcovered; and he fell into the hands of Henry earl of Lancaſter on November 16, who conducted him, firſt to Monmouth, from whence he was removed to Kenelworth caſtle[148]. With the king was taken his chancellor Robert Baldock, and, in a neighbouring wood, his moſt obnoxious and hated favourite Hugh Spenſer. This laſt was conducted to Hereford, where the queen and prince lay with their army; and on November 24, he was there hanged on a gibbet fifty feet high: his head was ſent as an agreeable preſent to the citizens of London, who ſet it with great triumph upon the bridge[149]. Baldock, being a prieſt, eſcaped immediate execution; but ſoon after died in great miſery, in the priſon of Newgate, of the ſevere uſage which he there received[150].

State of England. England was at this time a ſcene of great confuſion: government was diſſolved, the courts of juſtice ſhut, and lawleſs violence every where reigned. The mob of London, and of other cities, who were called *the riflers*, plundered and murdered whom they pleaſed, without controul[151].

A.D.1327. Edward II. depoſed. The queen and Mortimer, by whoſe direction all affairs were conducted, now began to diſcover another part of their plot; which was, to depoſe

147 Rymer. vol. 4. p. 238, 239. 148 Walſing. p. 126. Mon. Malmſ. p. 244. 149 Walſing. p. 126. Mon. Malmſ.
150 Walſing. p. 126. 151 M. Weſt. Contin. Walſing. p. 125.

the

the king, whom they had got into their hands, A.D. 1327.
and place the prince of Wales upon the throne, who being but fourteen years of age, was entirely under their management. With this view, they called a parliament, in the name of the prince, as guardian of the kingdom, to meet at Weſtminſter January 7. As ſoon as the parliament met, which conſiſted entirely of the accomplices and favourers of the queen, the depoſition of the king, and the elevation of the prince of Wales to the throne, were brought upon the carpet. But theſe queſtions were far from being debated with that calmneſs which their importance required: the houſe was every day ſurrounded by the London mob, and every thing conducted with clamour and violence. At length, on Tueſday the 13th January, the prince was ſeated on the throne; and a charge, digeſted into ſix articles, exhibited againſt the king; for which he was depoſed from his royal dignity, and the prince proclaimed king in his ſtead [152]. The articles of this charge, conſidering by whom it was brought, were not of ſo high a nature as might have been expected, conſiſting of alleged incapacity for government; negligence; ſpending his time in trifling amuſements; violating ſome of the immunities of the church; baniſhing, diſinheriting, and putting to death many noblemen, meaning thoſe of the Lancaſtrian faction [153]. On this general charge, without any proof, or any opportunity of anſwering

[152] Anglia Sacra, vol. 1. p. 367. Walſing. p. 126. Ypodigma Neuſtriæ, p. 508. [153] Knyghton, p. 2765. Walſing. p. 127.

for

A.D. 1327. for himſelf, was this unhappy prince diveſted of his crown.

Commiſſioners ſent to the depoſed king.

When the news of the king's depoſition was brought to his cruel and perfidious queen, ſhe counterfeited the moſt violent and inconſolable grief, ſhedding a flood of tears, and even falling into fits; and the prince (probably with more ſincerity) declared, that he never would accept of the crown in his father's lifetime without his conſent. To remove theſe ſcruples of the prince, and render this whole tranſaction the more plauſible, the parliament appointed a deputation of their number to attend upon the king at Kenelworth, to intimate to him the ſentence of his depoſition, and procure his conſent[154]. The biſhops of Hereford and Lincoln, two of this deputation, and the king's moſt inveterate enemies, were firſt ſent into his preſence; and having, by threats and promiſes, brought him to a feigned ſubmiſſion, the other parliamentary commiſſioners were introduced. As ſoon as the wretched Edward beheld them, he ſunk down to the floor in a ſwoon, from whence being recovered, the deputies performed their office; to which the king replied, That he was in their power, and ſubmitted to their will[155]. Judge Truſſel, who attended the commiſſioners, in a formal manner, in name of the prelates, earls, barons, and people of England, as their procurator, renounced all homage, fealty, and obedience to

[154] Wa'ſing. p. 128. T. de la More, p 600.
[155] Knyghton, p. 2550.

Edward;

Edward [156]; and then ſir Thomas Blount, high ſteward, breaking his ſtaff, and declaring all the king's officers diſcharged from their ſervice, this uncommon ceremony ended, and with it the unproſperous reign of Edward II. on January 20, 1327, after it had continued nineteen years, ſix months, and fifteen days. A.D. 1327.

That we may not have occaſion to reſume this mournful ſubject, we ſhall attend the degraded monarch to his grave, referring the other public tranſactions of this year to the ſucceeding reign, to which they moſt properly belong. Edward, after his depoſition, was for ſome time committed to the cuſtody of his couſin Henry earl of Lancaſter, who treated him with great tenderneſs and humanity. But this was by no means agreeable to the diſpoſitions and deſigns of the queen and Mortimer, who therefore took him out of the hands of that nobleman, April 3, and put him into the cuſtody of Thomas lord Berkeley, John de Mautravers, and ſir Thomas Gournay, who were to keep him, each a month, by turns [157]. Even theſe new keepers were not equally ſavage, the lord Berkeley treating him with much more humanity than the other two, who probably deſigned to break his heart by their hard uſage [158]. They hurried him from caſtle to caſtle in the night-time, thinly clothed, and without any covering to his Treatment of the depoſed king.

156 Knyghton, p. 2550. Mon. Malmſ. p. 244.
157 T. de la More, p. 600. Walſing. p. 127.
158 T. de la More, p. 603. Walſing. p. 127.

head.

A.D. 1327. head[159]. Mautravers one day commanding him to be ſhaved with cold and dirty water, the fallen monarch was ſo much affected with this indignity, that he burſt into tears, which bedewing his face, he ſaid, with a ſmile of grief, "See, I have pro- "vided clean and warm water, whether you will "or not[160]."

Murder of king Edward.

While this wretched prince was ſuffering theſe and many other inſults from the hands of his cruel keepers, a great change was gradually working in the ſentiments of his late ſubjects in his favour. The people of England had been wrought up into the moſt violent rage againſt the weak, miſguided Edward, as a cruel and execrable tyrant, and into the higheſt admiration of the queen and Mortimer, as angels ſent from heaven for their deliverance. But when the true characters of theſe laſt, and the criminal nature of their union, came to be better known, the people began to open their eyes, to ſee they had been deluded, and to pity the ſufferings of their wretched ſovereign. In conſequence of this, ſeveral ſchemes were formed by the people of Briſtol, the Dominican friars, and others, for ſetting Edward at liberty[161]. But theſe ſchemes ſerved only to haſten the cruel fate of this unhappy prince. For the queen and Mortimer, not thinking themſelves ſafe while he was alive, ſent orders to their tools, Gournay and Mautravers, to diſpatch him immediately. Theſe well-choſen inſtruments of

159 T. de la More, p. 600.
160 Anonymi Hiſt. p. 838.
161 Leland. Col. vol. 2. p. 475, 476. Walſing. p. 127.

cruelty

cruelty obeyed this command; and ſeizing the opportunity when the king was at Berkeley-caſtle, and the lord Berkeley confined at Bradley by ſickneſs, they threw the king upon a bed, and thruſt a red hot iron through a horn into his fundament, which made him fill the whole caſtle with his ſhrieks, and ſoon put an end to his life by the moſt exquiſite torments[162]. Thus periſhed Edward of Cairnarvon, on the 21ſt September 1327, in the forty-third year of his age. A.D. 1327.

Edward II. is ſaid to have borne a great reſemblance to his illuſtrious father in the ſtature, ſtrength, and beauty of his perſon; but unhappily the reſemblance was not ſo great in the qualities of the mind. Though not remarkably deficient in perſonal courage, he had no talents for war, nor was he better qualified for the conduct of political intrigues, being paſſionate, talkative, and irreſolute. He was guilty of many follies, but of few vices; and ſpent his time rather in a frivolous than in a criminal manner. But the moſt ſtriking feature in this prince's character, was his unbounded and inviolable attachment to his two ſucceſſive favourites, Gavaſton and Spenſer. This was the real cauſe of all the calamities of his reign, the miſeries of his life, and the violence of his death. For theſe unworthy favourites, by their imprudence, inſolence, ambition, and avarice, excited univerſal hatred and indignation, and brought ruin upon themſelves and their too indulgent maſter. Character of Edward II.

[162] T. de la More, p. 603. Walſing. p. 127.

A.D. 1327. Children of Edward II.

Edward had, by his queen, Iſabel of France, two ſons and two daughters, viz. Edward his eldeſt ſon and ſucceſſor, born at Windſor, 13th November 1312; John, his youngeſt ſon, born at Eltham, 1ſt Auguſt 1316, died at Perth, unmarried, in 1334; his eldeſt daughter, Jane, born in the tower of London, and married to David Bruce king of Scotland; and Eleanor, born at Woodſtoke, and married to the duke of Guilders.

Hiſtory of Scotland.

All the moſt important events in the hiſtory of Scotland, from the acceſſion of Edward II. to the long truce A. D. 1323, are interwoven with that of England, and have been related. The ſhort interval between that and the time of his death was employed by the illuſtrious king Robert Bruce, in regulating the internal police of his kingdom, and ſecuring the ſucceſſion of his crown to his only ſon David, then an infant; and failing him, to Robert Stewart, the only ſon of his daughter the princeſs Marjory [163].

[163] Fordun, l. 13. c. 12.

SECTION IV.

The civil and military history of Britain, from the accession of Edward III. *24th January* A. D. 1327, *to the accession of Richard* II. *21st June* A. D. 1377.

THE reign of Edward III. may be said to have commenced on 24th January 1327, as on that day his peace was proclaimed in London, which in those times was the first act of royalty in each reign [1]. He was crowned in Westminster abbey, on 1st February, by the archbishop of Canterbury [2]. A.D. 1327. Accession of Edward III.

The parliament which had deposed Edward II. was still sitting, and appointed a council of regency, consisting of the archbishops of Canterbury and York; the bishops of Winchester, Worcester, and Hereford; the earls of Lancaster, Norfolk, Kent, and Surry; the lords Percy, Wake, Ingham, and Ross. The earl of Lancaster was declared chief of this council, and guardian of the young king's person, who was little more than fourteen years of age. But notwithstanding this appointment of a regency, the king and all his authority were in the hands of the queen and Mortimer [3]. The same parliament reversed the Regency appointed by parliament, &c.

[1] Rymer, vol. 4. p. 243—245.
[2] Id. ibid. p. 244. Walsing. p. 126.
[3] Heming. t. 2. p. 270. Leland's Collectan. vol. 2. p. 476.

A.D. 1327. attainders which had been paſſed ſome years before againſt the late earl of Lancaſter and his adherents[4], confiſcated the eſtates of the Spenſers and their creatures; granted the ſum of 20,000l. to the queen to pay her debts, and aſſigned her a jointure of 20,000l. a year; an immenſe ſum in thoſe times. The queen and her favourite appropriated to themſelves the far greateſt part of the prodigious treaſures and eſtates of the Spenſers, and were very ſoon as much and as univerſally hated as their former proprietors.

The citizens of London pardoned.

As the citizens of London had contributed ſo much to bring about the late revolution, they were rewarded with a pardon of all the acts of violence which they had committed, and with a new charter containing many ample privileges[5]. A peace was concluded with France, which put an end to the war in Guienne, which had been made an engine to ruin the late unhappy king[6].

Invaſion of England by the Scots.

It is highly probable, that the internal tranquillity of the new government would not have been of long continuance, if the attention of all parties had not been engaged by a threatened invaſion from a foreign enemy. Though the truce between England and Scotland was not yet expired, Robert Bruce, thinking it diſſolved by the depoſition of the king with whom it had been made, and looking upon this as a favourable opportunity of mak-

[4] Rymer, vol. 4. p. 258, 259.
[5] Rymeri Fœd. t. 4. p. 245. 257, 258.
[6] Rymer, vol. 4. p. 264—266. 280.

ing

ing ſuch an impreſſion upon England as would procure him an honourable peace, raiſed an army, and prepared for an invaſion[7]. A.D. 1327.

The Engliſh adminiſtration, after attempting in vain to bring about an accommodation, likewiſe prepared for war, and raiſed a gallant army of ſixty, ſome ſay one hundred thouſand men, at the head of which appeared the young king, full of martial ardour. The march of this army was retarded ſome time at York, by an unfortunate quarrel which happened there between the Engliſh archers and the foreign troops under John de Hainault, in which ſeveral perſons were ſlain on both ſides[8]. This quarrel being at laſt compoſed, the army marched northward 10th July, and arriving at Durham on the 13th, received intelligence that an army of Scots had paſſed the Tyne, and committed dreadful ravages all over the country. Edward, having reſted and refreſhed his army at Durham a few days, ſet out, July 18, in queſt of thoſe deſtroyers. But though he ſometimes diſcovered where they were, by the ſmoke of burning villages, and other marks of deſolation, he could not overtake, or bring them to an engagement. The Scotch army, commanded by the two illuſtrious chiefs, Randolf earl of Murray and lord James Douglas, conſiſted of about twenty thouſand men, unincumbered with baggage, and all mounted, four thouſand of them on

Expedition of Edward III. in the north.

[7] Froiſſart, l. 1. c. 16.

[8] Id. ibid. c. 17. Leland Collect. v. 2. p. 475. Walſing. p. 127. Knyghton, col. 2551.

A.D.1327. good horſes, the reſt on little galloways, which enabled them to elude the purſuit of a much more powerful enemy [9].

Edward endeavours to find and fight the Scots.

Edward, after ſpending ſome days in this fruitleſs chace, marched northward, paſſed the Tyne, and poſted his army in the route by which he expected the Scots would return into their own country [10]. But after ſpending a week in this poſition, in great want of proviſions, without hearing any thing of the enemy, he repaſſed the river. He was now ſo much at a loſs for intelligence, that he promiſed a penſion of 100l. a year to him who ſhould bring the firſt account of the ſituation of the Scotch army [11]. The hopes of this reward ſent many adventurers in ſearch of the Scots; and one Thomas Rokeſby having diſcovered them, brought intelligence that they were encamped, at no great diſtance, on the ſouth banks of the river Were. Edward marched in great haſte towards the enemy, determined to give them battle that very day; but, on his arrival, found, to his inexpreſſible vexation, that they had choſen their ground ſo well, that it was dangerous to attack them. Impatient for an engagement, he ſent a challenge to the Scotch commanders to march out and decide the quarrel in a fair and open field. The fiery Douglas would perhaps have fallen into this ſnare, if he had not been reſtrained by the cooler

[9] Froiſſart, l. 1. c. 18. [10] Id. ibid. c. 19.
[11] Rymer, vol. 4. p. 312. Froiſſart, l. 4. c. 19.

counſels

counſels of his colleague, Randolph, who replied, that he paid no regard to the deſires of an enemy [12]. A.D. 1327.

The Scots, not thinking themſelves perfectly ſafe in their preſent ſituation, marched in great ſilence, in the night-time, ſome miles farther up the river, and took poſſeſſion of a more advantageous camp; and the Engliſh army following them the next day, encamped on the oppoſite bank [13]. While the two armies lay here facing one another, the lord Douglas formed the bold deſign of ſurpriſing the king of England in the midſt of his army. With this view, having by ſome means got the word, he entered the Engliſh camp about midnight, Auguſt 4, attended by two hundred of his moſt daring followers, and advanced near the royal tent without diſcovery; but when he was on the point of ſeizing his prey, the alarm being given, and ſome of the king's guards making a deſperate reſiſtance, he eſcaped in the dark to a place of ſafety; and Douglas, having killed about three hundred of the enemy, returned to his friends with little loſs [14]. The Scots, after this diſappointment, reſolved on a retreat, which they effected on Auguſt 6. By decamping ſilently in the night, and marching with great expedition, they got the ſtart of the Engliſh army ſo far, that it was thought in vain to purſue them [15]. Edward, greatly mortified at the eſcape

Douglas attempts to ſurpriſe Edward.

[12] Froiſſart, l. 1. c. 19. [13] Id. ibid.
[14] Knyghton, p. 2552. Froiſſart, l. 4. c. 19.
[15] Froiſſart, l. 1. c. 19.

A.D.1327. of his enemies, marched firſt to Durham, and then to York, where the army ſeparated [16].

Peace between England and Scotland.

The young monarch breathed nothing but war and revenge againſt the Scots; but the queen and Mortimer had other deſigns in view. They imagined it would be a great advantage and ſecurity to themſelves to have a peace with Scotland, and obtain the friendſhip, and, in caſe of need, the aſſiſtance, of its king. On the other hand, Robert Bruce, being almoſt worn out with infirmities, was earneſtly deſirous of leaving his infant ſon at peace with all his neighbours, eſpecially with England. Commiſſioners from both powers met at Newcaſtle in November, and ſettled the articles of a treaty of peace between England and Scotland [17]. By one article of this famous treaty, the king of England renounced, for himſelf and his ſucceſſors, all claim to any ſuperiority over the kings or kingdom of Scotland, and agreed to deliver up all evidences of ſuch ſuperiority [18]. By another article a marriage was concluded between David prince of Scotland and the princeſs Jane, Edward's eldeſt ſiſter. In conſideration of theſe great advantages, Bruce agreed to pay to England the ſum of 30,000 marks; which is ſaid to have been divided between the queen and Mortimer. Though this treaty was exceedingly unpopular in England, and greatly increaſed the public hatred againſt the well-known authors of it; yet they had ſtill influence enough to

[16] Froiſſart, l. 1. c. 23.
[17] Rymer, t. 4. p. 328. 335—338.
[18] Rymer, t. 4. p. 338—410.

get

get it confirmed by parliament in April A. D. 1328 [19]. A.D. 1328.

Though Edward was not yet ſixteen years of age, his marriage with Philippa, daughter of William III. count of Hainault and Holland, was ſolemnized at York, January 24, with great pomp [20]. In conſequence of an article of the peace with Scotland, the queen-mother of England conducted to Berwick her daughter the princeſs Jane, who was there married, July 17, to the prince of Scotland. With the princeſs were delivered up, and carried into Scotland, many of the jewels, charters, and other things, which had been taken from thence by Edward I [21]. Thus ended that long and bloody war between the two Britiſh kingdoms, which involved them both in very great calamities, and gave birth to that national animoſity, which laid a foundation for many future wars. Royal marriages.

The hatred and jealouſy of ſome of the chief nobility againſt Mortimer were now become ſo great, that they declined attending ſeveral parliaments which were called this year, at Northampton, York, and Saliſbury. At the laſt of theſe parliaments, which was held in October, Mortimer was created earl of March, which ſerved equally to increaſe his inſolence and the animoſity of his enemies. The earls of Kent, Norfolk, and Lancaſter, with other diſcontented barons, meeting at London, Confederacy againſt Mortimer.

[19] A. Murimuth. p. 72. Ypodyg. Neuſt. p. 510.
[20] Knyghton, col. 2552. Heming. p. 269. Walſing. p. 128.
[21] Knyghton, col. 2553. Fordun, l. 13. c. 14. Carte, vol. 2. p. 397. from *Annal. ad an.* 1377.

in

A.D.1328. in December, entered into a confederacy to call Mortimer to an account, for the murder of the late king, for depriving the council of regency of all authority, for embezzling the public treasure, for the dishonourable peace with Scotland, and several other crimes [22].

A.D.1329. Civil broils. Both parties now began to raise forces and prepare for war; the barons trusting to their own power and the popularity of their cause, and Mortimer depending on the person and authority of the king, which were in his possession. But the earls of Kent and Norfolk, being princes of little courage or capacity, began to dread the consequences of carrying things to extremity, and, by the intervention of some prelates, made their peace with the court. This obliged the earl of Lancaster soon after to submit to an accommodation, by which all disputes were referred to a parliament, to be called for composing these differences, and reforming the government [23]. But other matters intervening, prevented the meeting of this healing and reforming parliament.

Edward's voyage to France. Charles the Fair, king of France, having died some time ago without male issue, was succeeded by his cousin Philip de Valois, who had summoned Edward to come over and perform his homage for his French dominions [24]. This summons was very unwelcome on several accounts. It ill agreed with the high spirit of Edward to go through the hu-

[22] J. Barne's Hist. Ed. III. p. 31.
[23] Knyghton, p. 2554.
[24] Rymer, t. 4. p. 381.

miliating ceremony of doing homage; but it ſtill worſe agreed with the ambitious deſigns of claiming the crown of France, to give ſuch a formal recognition of Philip's right to that crown. However, as he was not yet prepared for aſſerting his claim, nor could obtain any further delay, he reſolved to comply with the ſummons, making a proteſtation before his own council, that what he did was by conſtraint, and ſhould not be conſidered as a renunciation of his right to the crown of France. Having taken this precaution, he ſailed from Dover, on Friday, May 26, did homage to the king of France at Amiens, and returned to Dover on Whitſunday, June 11[25]. In this ſhort viſit Edward was ſo much charmed with the ſplendour of the court of France, the beauty and riches of the country, that he became more reſolved than ever to aſſert his fatal claim to that kingdom. A.D. 1329.

Though a ſeeming reconciliation had lately taken place between the earl of Kent and Mortimer, it was far from being ſincere. A report prevailed at this time all over England (raiſed and propagated, as it is believed, by Mortimer and his agents, for the moſt pernicious purpoſes), that Edward II. was ſtill alive, and confined in Corfe caſtle. This report was induſtriouſly ſent to the ears of the earl of Kent, and the truth of it confirmed by ſir James Devernel the governor of Corfe caſtle, who, though he would not admit the earl to ſee the king his bro- A.D. 1330. Earl of Kent, the king's uncle, condemned and executed.

[25] Rymer, t. 4. p. 386, 387. 390.

ther,

A.D.1330. ther, promiſed to deliver him a letter. The unwary Kent fell into the ſnare, wrote a letter to his brother, in which he promiſed to exert all his power, in conjunction with his other friends, to ſet him at liberty, and reſtore him to the throne. This letter he gave to the perfidious governor, who immediately ſent it to Mortimer, by whom he had been employed. As ſoon as the queen and her wicked paramour had got this letter into their hands, they procured a parliament to be called, to meet at Wincheſter on March 11[26]. Parliaments at this time conſiſted rather of the chiefs of a faction than the repreſentatives of a free people, few attending them but the partiſans of the queen and her favourite. The intended victim, the earl of Kent, was in a very earneſt manner invited to this meeting by the king, or rather by thoſe who abuſed his name; and as ſoon as he arrived at Wincheſter he was arreſted. On the 16th of March he was condemned by parliament of high treaſon, on the abſurd accuſation of deſigning to raiſe a dead man to the throne; and on the 19th of the ſame month this iniquitous ſentence was executed[27]. While this ſcene of iniquity was acting, the young king was engaged in a ſucceſſion of amuſements, which left him no leiſure for reflection till it was too late.

Birth of the Black Prince. Not long after this branch was thus cruelly cut off from the royal family, another ſprung up in its

[26] Concil. M. Brit. p. 557.

[27] Leland Col. vol. 2. p. 477. Walſing. p. 510. Knyghton, p. 2552. Heming. p. 271. R. de Aveſbury, p. 8.

room;

room; the young queen being delivered at Woodſtoke, June 15, of a ſon, who was afterwards ſo well known to the world, and to poſterity, by the name of *the Black Prince*[28]. A.D. 1330.

Mortimer impriſoned.

Nor did Mortimer triumph much longer in his ſucceſsful villanies. The king, being now near eighteen years of age, and ſeeing himſelf a father, reſolved to take the reins of government into his own hands, and to emancipate himſelf from the tutelage of the queen-mother and her minion, whom he had many reaſons both to hate and fear. He was encouraged in this deſign by many noblemen who hated Mortimer; and a plan was laid for ſeizing him at the next parliament, which was to meet fifteen days after Michaelmas, at Nottingham[29]. But it was not ſo eaſy to execute this deſign, Mortimer, both from a principle of vanity, and with a view to ſafety, being continually attended with a great retinue of armed knights. On his arrival at Nottingham with queen Iſabel, they took poſſeſſion of the caſtle of that place, with a guard of one hundred and eighty knights; and the queen had the keys of the caſtle every night delivered to her, which ſhe put under her pillow. The king, at his coming, was admitted into the caſtle, but only with a few attendants, the reſt of his retinue being lodged in the town. In this ſituation of things, it was impoſſible to accompliſh the deſign without the aſſiſtance of ſir William Eland, the governor; who, entering heartily into the king's

[28] Walſing. p. 130. [29] Kryghton, p. 2555.

meaſures,

A.D.1330. meaſures, ſhewed to the lord Montacute, and the other noblemen intruſted with the execution, a ſubterraneous paſſage into the caſtle, by which they entered early in the morning October 19; and being joined by the king and his attendants within, they ſeized Mortimer in an apartment adjoining to the queen's [30]. This princeſs moſt earneſtly entreated her ſweet ſon (as ſhe called the king) to have pity on the lovely Mortimer. But her entreaties were not regarded, and he was ſent, under a ſtrong guard, to the tower of London. At the ſame time two of Mortimer's ſons, with ſeveral of his confidents, were taken, and ſent to the ſame place [31]. The ſame day a proclamation was iſſued, to acquaint all his ſubjects, that the king had taken the adminiſtration of the government into his own hands; and a new parliament was ſummoned to meet at Weſtminſter, November 26, for the trial of the priſoners [32].

Mortimer condemned and executed.

Before this aſſembly Mortimer was accuſed of murdering the late king, occaſioning the death of the earl of Kent, uſurping the government from the council of regency, embezzling the public treaſures, and many other crimes; of all which he was eſteemed by his peers ſo notoriouſly guilty, that he was condemned, without examining any witneſſes, to the death of a traitor [33]. This ſentence was executed 29th November, at a place called

[30] Knyghton, p. 2556. Aveſbury, p. 9. [31] Knyghton, p. 2556.
[32] Rymer, vol. 4. p. 452, 453. [33] Knyghton, p. 2556.

the

the Elms, near Tyburn; and his body was suffered to hang two days upon the gibbet [34]. A.D. 1330.

Character of Mortimer.

Thus perished, by a violent and ignominious death, the profligate, insolent, ambitious Mortimer; who, but a few years before, was almost adored by the deluded people as the deliverer of his country, but now justly abhorred as the murderer of his king. Like all the royal favourites of those times, who resembled one another as much in their characters as in their fates, he was insatiably covetous and insufferably vain; and made such an ostentatious display of his ill-gotten power and wealth, that one of his own sons called him the *King of Folly* [35]. A few of his most guilty accomplices were soon after condemned and executed [36].

Treatment of the queen-mother.

The queen-mother, though treated with greater lenity, did not escape censure. She was deprived of her treasures and enormous jointure, and confined to live at her house at Risings, on a pension of three thousand marks a-year [37].

A.D. 1331.

Though Edward was only a few days more than eighteen years of age when he took the reins of government into his own hands, his subjects soon received very sensible advantages from his administration. He exerted his authority with great spirit, in subduing and bringing to justice the numerous gangs of robbers which infested all parts of the country, and were too often protected by the great barons. He took care to have justice strictly

34 Knyghton, p. 2559. Walsing. p. 130. 35 Knyghton, p. 2558.
36 Leland. Collect. t. 2. p. 476. 37 Knyghton, p. 2556.

and

A.D.1331. and impartially adminiſtered; and gave new life and vigour to all parts of the conſtitution [38]. Happy had it been for his own kingdom, as well as for the neighbouring nations, if he had always employed his great talents in theſe beneficent arts of peace. But it ſoon appeared that he was deeply tainted with ambition; the vice of great minds, and the ſource of infinite miſchiefs.

A.D.1332. Death of king Robert Bruce, earl of Moray, and lord Douglas.

Scotland about this time ſuſtained an irreparable loſs by the deaths of three of the greateſt men that ever fought her battles. Theſe were, the king Robert Bruce, the lord James Douglas, who had been killed in Spain, and Randolph earl of Moray, regent of the kingdom, who died this year, July 20 [39]. He was ſucceeded in the regency by Donald earl of Marr [40].

Claims of Engliſh barons in Scotland.

By one article of the late peace with England, it was ſtipulated, that ſome Engliſh noblemen ſhould be reſtored to their eſtates in Scotland. The execution of this article was delayed from time to time, for reaſons which are not certainly known, by the king of Scots and the regent. Several juſt and warm remonſtrances were made on this ſubject by the court of England; which produced nothing but excuſes from that of Scotland [41].

Edward Baliol and ſome Engliſh barons invade Scotland.

The Engliſh noblemen, ſeeing no end of theſe delays, formed a deſign to attempt a revolution in Scotland, in favour of the Baliol family, as the moſt effectual way to get poſſeſſion of their eſtates

38 Cotton's Abridg. 39 Fordun, l. 43. c. 14. 19. 21.
40 Id. ibid. c. 22. 41 Rymer, vol. 4. p. 461. 471, 472. 518.

in that kingdom. With this view the lord Edward Baliol, who was living as a private man on his eſtates in France, was invited into England, with promiſes of aſſiſtance in proſecuting his claim to the crown of Scotland which his father had ſometime worn. Edward, who wanted neither courage nor ambition, accepted the invitation; and on his arrival in the north of England, with forty knights in his company, he was joined by the earls of Athole and Angus, the lords Beaumont, Wake, Waren, and ſeveral other barons, who raiſed a body of 2500 men, well armed[42]. This was too ſmall a force to make an attempt upon the ſouth of Scotland, where the people were uſed to arms, and continually upon their guard. They therefore embarked at Ravenſpur, and ſailing up the frith of Forth, landing at Kinghorn Auguſt 6, diſperſing, with much eaſe and great ſlaughter, a crowd of country people, who had aſſembled haſtily to oppoſe their landing[43]. A.D. 1332.

This firſt ſucceſs was followed by others ſtill greater and more ſurpriſing. The earl of Marr, with the aſſiſtance of the noblemen in thoſe parts, collected in a few days an army, as it is ſaid, of 40,000 men. But all the proceedings of this confuſed rabble were raſh and tumultuary. Depending on their numbers, they kept no guards, and were ſurpriſed in their camp on the banks of the river Succeſſes of Baliol and the Engliſh.

[42] Walſing. p. 131. Heming. p. 273. Knyght. col. 2560.
[43] M. Weſt. Contin. Knyghton, p. 2560. R. de Aveſbury, p. 22. Heming. p. 272. Ford. l. 13. c. 22.

A.D.1332. Ern, not far from Perth, in the night between the 11th and 12th of Auguſt, and routed with great ſlaughter. Next morning, a great number of fugitives rallying, and aſhamed of what had happened, returned to the charge, but with ſuch paſſionate precipitation, that they were again thrown into confuſion, and put to flight. In theſe two actions the Scotch, beſides an incredible number of private men, loſt the earls of Marr, Carrick, and Monteith, with ſeveral other lords, and many gentlemen, which threw the whole kingdom into ſuch conſternation, that it was thought proper to ſend their young king and queen into France for their ſafety. Baliol purſuing this favourable gale of good fortune, took poſſeſſion of Perth without reſiſtance, and on the 27th September he was crowned king of Scotland at Scone[44].

Edward marches into the north.

Though the king of England had taken no part publicly in theſe tranſactions, it is highly probable that they were not undertaken by his ſubjects without his knowledge and conſent. It is at leaſt certain, that he granted Baliol a ſafe-conduct for his coming into England; a preſumptive proof that he did not diſapprove of his deſign. But however this may be, Edward was holding a parliament at Weſtminſter when he received the news of this ſurpriſing revolution in Scotland, and was adviſed by that aſſembly to march immediately with a

[44] R. de Aveſbury, p. 22, 23. Heming. p. 272, 273, 274. Knyghton, p. 2559. Fordun, l. 13. c. 22, 23, 24, 25. Buchanan, lib. 9. Walſing. p. 132.

good

good army into the north, that he might be at hand to act as occaſion ſhould require [45]. A.D.1332.

While Edward was on his march into the north, Baliol executed letters patent at Roxburgh, dated November 23, ſubjecting the crown and kingdom of Scotland to the crown of England, engaging to deliver the town of Berwick to Edward, and to marry his ſiſter the princeſs Jane, if her marriage with his rival David Bruce could be diſſolved [46]. Baliol ſubjects the kingdom of Scotland to England.

Not long after this, Baliol, obſerving the country in a ſtate of ſeeming tranquillity, diſmiſſed his troops, and retired to Annan with a ſlender retinue to keep his Chriſtmas; but here he was attacked in the night by ſir Archibald Douglas, young Randolph earl of Moray, and ſir Simon Fraſer, ſo ſuddenly, that with great difficulty he got on horſeback, without a ſaddle, and eſcaped to Carliſle almoſt naked, leaving his brother Henry dead behind him, and all his baggage in the hands of his enemies. Thus did Baliol loſe his crown by a change of fortune more ſudden and ſurpriſing than that by which he had gained it [47]: Baliol expelled.

Edward was in York when he heard of this ſecond revolution in Scotland, and conſulted his parliament, which met in that city, January 5, whether he ſhould content himſelf with the ſuperiority, or attempt to obtain the ſovereignty of that kingdom. But the parliament, for reaſons which A.D.1333. Edward conſults his parliament

[45] Rymer, t. 4. p. 533, 534. 540.
[46] Id. ibid. p. 536, 537, 538, 539.
[47] Walſing. p. 132. Knyghton, p. 2561. Fordun, l. 13. c. 25.

A.D.1333. are not certainly known, did not think fit to give him any advice on that important queſtion [48].

The Scots invade England.

The Scots, not contented with having expelled Baliol, renewed their plundering incurſions into the north of England; which greatly incenſed Edward againſt them, and made him haſten his preparations for the re-eſtabliſhment of Baliol [49]. He called a parliament to meet at York, in the beginning of March; which being equally incenſed againſt the Scots for their depredations, no longer obſerved their former ſilence, but adviſed Edward to attempt the recovery of Berwick and the reduction of Scotland, promiſing to aſſiſt him with all their power [50].

Edward beſieges Berwick.

Edward was not ſlow in following an advice ſo agreeable to his inclinations. He appointed the rendezvous of his army to be at Newcaſtle, May 2, from whence he marched, and inveſted Berwick on all ſides. The place was provided with a numerous garriſon, and made a brave defence; but the ſiege was puſhed with ſo much vigour, that it was obliged to capitulate on July 16, and agreed to ſurrender on Tueſday the 20th, at ſun-riſing, if not relieved before that time; and ſir W. Keith, governor of the town, was allowed to go to the regent of Scotland, and ſolicit relief [51].

Battle of Hallidon hill.

Lord Archibald Douglas, regent of Scotland for king David Bruce, had collected a numerous

[48] Cotton's Abridg. p. 14.
[49] Rymer, t. 4. p. 551, 552. Heming. P. 274.
[50] Walſing. p. 133. Knyghton, col. 2562.
[51] Rymer, t. 4. p. 564. 568.

army

army, with which he had invaded England, in hopes of drawing Edward from the ſiege of Berwick to the protection of his own country. But the importunities of ſir W. Keith prevailed upon him to change his plan of operations, and march directly towards Berwick for its relief. The Scots army came in ſight of that place, Monday July 19, about noon, and found the Engliſh army drawn up on Hallidon hill, about a mile north-weſt of the town, ready to receive them. The Scotch were grievouſly galled by the Engliſh archers in mounting the hill, which made them ruſh on to the attack with much precipitation. Their firſt ſhock was violent; but being bravely ſuſtained by the Engliſh, and the regent being killed, they inſtantly fell into confuſion, and fled on all hands, and were purſued ſeveral miles by Edward, at the head of the Engliſh cavalry, and by the Iriſh under lord Darcy, with a moſt dreadful carnage. Beſides a prodigious number of private men, the greateſt part of the nobility, who adhered to the family of Bruce, were either killed or taken priſoners in this battle. This glorious victory was obtained with very little loſs, and was followed by the ſurrender of the town and caſtle of Berwick, according to the capitulation [52]. A.D. 1333.

Baliol reſtored.

Edward, ſatisfied with the ſucceſs of this campaign, left a body of 26,000 men with Baliol to reduce Scotland under his authority; and diſmiſſ-

[52] Heming. p. 275, 276, 277. Knyghton, p. 2559. Otterborne, p. 115. Buchanan, l. 9. Fordun, l. 13. c. 27, 28. Rymer, vol. 4. p. 568.

A.D.1333. ing the reſt of his army, returned into England [53]. So many of the heads of the Brucean party had fallen in the late battle, that Baliol met with no further oppoſition, and held a parliament at Perth, ſoon after Michaelmas, in perfect tranquillity. At this parliament Baliol's right to the crown of Scotland was recognized, the ſuperiority of England acknowledged, all the laws which had been made in the reigns of Robert Bruce and his ſon David repealed, the noblemen who had adhered to that family were proſcribed, and their eſtates beſtowed chiefly on the Engliſh noblemen who had contributed moſt to this revolution [54]. Thus was Baliol once more reſtored to the throne of Scotland.

A.D.1334. Ceſſions made by Baliol to Edward.

But this unhappy prince ſtill wanted the firmeſt ſupport of a throne, the affections of his ſubjects; and a tranſaction which ſoon after happened, rendered him the object of their ſovereign contempt and hatred. He attended the king of England at Newcaſtle, June 12, and did homage in perſon for the kingdom of Scotland, June 18; and made an entire ceſſion of the ſhires of Edinburgh, Roxburgh, Selkirk, Dumfries, Peebles, Haddington, and Linlithgow, with all their towns and caſtles, to be for ever united to the crown, and incorporated with the kingdom of England [55].

Unpopularity of Baliol.

This too liberal conceſſion furniſhed the friends of the family of Bruce with a popular topic of de-

53 Keyghton, p. 2560. Walſing. p. 132.
54 Barnes Hiſt. ed. 3. p. 82. Rymer, vol. 4. p. 576.
55 Id. ibid. p. 614—618.

clamation

clamation againſt this ſhadow of a king; who not only degraded the honour of his crown, but diſmembered its moſt valuable provinces, and was no better than a tool in the hands of the king of England. Even ſome of Baliol's friends were diſguſted at this laſt tranſaction; and his whole party was torn in pieces by their diſputes about dividing the ſpoils of their ruined enemies [56]. A.D. 1334.

Attempt to expel Baliol.

Theſe circumſtances encouraged the chiefs of the Brucean party to conſult together, in order to take advantage of the diſcontents of the people and the diviſions of their enemies. They ſent ambaſſadors to the king of France, who had ſo kindly entertained their young and unfortunate king and queen, to ſolicit aſſiſtance for their reſtoration [57]. Sir Andrew Moray of Bothwell, who had been regent of Scotland for king David Bruce, collecting an army, reduced the north of Scotland to the obedience of his maſter, and obliged Baliol to retire to Berwick. On this new turn of affairs, the earls of Athole, Dunbar, and ſeveral other barons deſerted him, and embraced the more popular party of his rival.

Edward ſupports Baliol.

When Edward received intelligence of theſe commotions in Scotland, he was holding a parliament, which met at Weſtminſter September 19; and having obtained a fifteenth from the barons and knights of ſhires, and a tenth from the citizens and burgeſſes, to enable him to proſecute the

[56] Leland's Collect. vol. 2. p. 554. Ford. l. 13. c. 29.

[57] Froiſſart, l. 1. c. 33.

A.D.1334. war with Scotland, he ſpent the winter in the north of England, and at Roxburgh, in the ſouth of Scotland, that he might be ready to enter upon action in the ſpring [58]. In the mean time, he furniſhed Baliol with a body of troops, which enabled him to maintain his ground, and keep up the war during the winter.

A.D.1335. Edward and Baliol invade Scotland.

Edward's warlike operations againſt Scotland were ſuſpended for ſome time, by the arrival of ambaſſadors from the king of France, to negotiate a peace [59]. But theſe negotiations proving abortive, he entered Scotland on July 11, by way of Carliſle, at the head of a very powerful army, while Baliol advanced from Berwick with another at the ſame time [60]. The two kings with their armies joined at Perth, without having met with any conſiderable oppoſition. The remainder of this year was ſpent in undeciſive but pernicious plunderings and ſkirmiſhes, and in ſhort truces that were ill obſerved [61].

A.D.1336. Invaſions of Scotland.

Hoſtilities were ſuſpended for ſome months, by a truce procured by the agents of the pope and king of France [62]; during which a congreſs was held at Newcaſtle for negotiating a peace, but without effect [63]. The truce expiring May 9, Edward ſent an army into Scotland under the command of Henry earl of Lancaſter, and ſoon after

[58] Knyghton, col. 2565. Rymer, vol. 4. p. 628—634.
[59] Knyght. col. 2566. [60] Rymer, vol 4. p. 637. 640.
[61] Id. ibid. p. 74. 675. [62] Id. ibid. p. 675, 676. 681.
[63] Id. ibid. p. 677. 685. 690.

followed

followed in perſon[64]. The Brucean Scots not having yet received the promiſed ſuccours from France, and being quite unable to meet their enemies in the field, retired to their woods and mountains, leaving all the level and open country a defenceleſs prey. Edward, greatly incenſed at theſe repeated revolts, marched through Athole to Inverneſs, marking his way with deſolation; and returning in the ſame manner by the ſea-coaſt, he burnt the city of Aberdeen, and arrived again at Perth about the end of Auguſt, having ſubdued every thing but the hearts of the inhabitants[65]. Leaving his brother prince John, and part of his army, with Baliol at Perth, he haſtened to meet his parliament at Nottingham, September 23. Here he received the melancholy news of the death of his brother prince John at Perth, and of ſome hoſtile enterpriſes of the Scots[66]. Having obtained a ſupply from his parliament at Nottingham, he flew back to Scotland, and arrived at Perth in the beginning of November. But ſir Andrew Moray, the Brucean regent, immediately retired from the ſiege of Stirling caſtle to his faſtneſſes with his followers; and Edward, after carrying deſolation into ſome other parts of that wretched country, left it, and returned to London, about Chriſtmas[67]. A.D. 1336.

64 Rymer, vol. 4. p. 695. Heming. p. 278.
65 Leland's Collect. vol. 2. p. 555, 556. Heming. p. 278, 279. Knyghton, col. 2568.
66 Walſing. p. 134. Knyghton, col. 2568. 67 Id. ibid.

It

A.D.1337. Edward resolves to assert his claim to the crown of France.

It had been no secret for some time past, that the king of France, dreading the martial and ambitious spirit of Edward, had resolved to give a very powerful assistance to the party of David Bruce in Scotland, to enable them to protract the war; and that he was making great preparations for that purpose. But Edward determined to prevent him; and, instead of waiting for him on the desolated plains of Scotland, to carry the war into the fertile provinces of France, and boldly assert his claim to that crown. As this fatal claim was the source of long and bloody wars between the two powerful kingdoms of England and France, it will be proper to explain, in a few words, the foundation on which it was built.

Foundation of Edward's claim to the crown of France.

It would be quite inconsistent with the studied brevity of this work, to enter upon a laborious inquiry into the origin and true meaning of the Salic law, and the rule of succession to the crown of France. It is sufficient to observe, that though the French monarchy had already existed nine hundred years, no female had ever filled that throne; and that the daughters of several ancient kings of France (who died without male issue) had been regularly excluded from the succession, by virtue of some established law or custom. It was also in virtue of this law or custom, that the two immediate predecessors of Philip de Valois, the present king of France, as well as Philip himself, had succeeded to the crown; as will appear from the following short detail of their successions. Philip the

the Fair, king of France, at his death, left three A.D. 1337.
ſons, Lewis Hutin, Philip the Long, and Charles the Fair, and one daughter, Iſabel, queen to Edward II. and mother to Edward III. kings of England. Lewis Hutin ſucceeded his father, and after a ſhort reign died, leaving one daughter, Joanna, and his queen pregnant, who was delivered of a ſon who lived only four days; upon which Philip the Long ſucceeded peaceably to the crown, to the excluſion of his elder brother's daughter, the princeſs Joanna. Philip the Long having reigned only a few years, died alſo without male iſſue; but left four daughters, Jane, Margaret, Iſabel, and Blanch; and was ſucceeded by his brother Charles the Fair, to the excluſion of all his daughters. Charles the Fair, the youngeſt of the three ſons of Philip the Fair, died February 1, A. D. 1328, leaving one daughter, Maria, and his queen with child. Here this famous controverſy began, concerning the right to the regency till the queen was delivered, and to the ſucceſſion, if ſhe was delivered of a daughter. The claimants were, Philip de Valois, ſon of Charles de Valois, who was brother to Philip the Fair, and Edward III. king of England, ſon of Iſabel daughter of the ſame Philip the Fair. This great cauſe was debated before an aſſembly of the ſtates of France, the only competent judges. For Philip it was pleaded, that the male iſſue of Philip the Fair being extinct, and all females, and their deſcendants, being by the laws and cuſtoms of France excluded, he had a clear and undoubted right to the

A.D.1337. the regency, as being the next male heir, the ſon of Charles de Valois, brother of Philip the Fair. For Edward it was argued, that being ſon of Iſabel, daughter of Philip the Fair, he was nearer in blood to the three laſt kings of France, being their ſiſter's ſon, than Philip, who was only their uncle's ſon; and that though his mother Iſabel was by the laws of France excluded on account of her ſex, yet he, not being liable to the ſame objection, ought to ſucceed. From this ſtate of the caſe it appears, that the preciſe point in queſtion between theſe two princes was this, whether, by the laws and cuſtoms of France, not only females, but alſo their deſcendants, were excluded from the ſucceſſion to that crown? Both allowed that females were excluded; otherwiſe neither of them could have had any right, as there were daughters of all the three laſt kings of France then living. But they differed widely as to the excluſion of the male deſcendants of theſe excluded females. The advocates for Edward maintained, that the ſole reaſon of the law or cuſtom excluding females from the crown was on account of the imbecility of their ſex, and ſuppoſed incapacity for reigning; but that this reaſon not militating againſt their male deſcendants, they ought not to be excluded. Thoſe who pleaded the cauſe of Philip, affirmed, that, females, having no right to the ſucceſſion themſelves, could convey no right to their deſcendants; and that the reaſon of the law or cuſtom of excluding females from the ſucceſſion was, not only

to

to prevent the weaker ſex from wearing the crown, but alſo to prevent foreign princes, their deſcendants, ſtrangers to the laws and cuſtoms of France, from aſcending that throne. They added further, That the excluſion of the deſcendants of females, as well as females themſelves, was ſo well known, that two princes, one deſcended from the daughter of Lewis Hutin, and the other from one of the daughters of Philip the Long, who had both a better title than Edward, if there was any ſtrength in his plea, made no claim. Influenced by theſe arguments, and perhaps a little ſwayed by their affection to a prince of their own country, the ſtates of France, gave a deciſion in favour of Philip de Valois; who immediately aſſumed the regency; and the queen being delivered of a daughter, he aſcended the throne without any further oppoſition [68]. A.D. 1337.

Though Edward, naturally ambitious, was no doubt much diſpleaſed at this deciſion; yet he found it neceſſary to do homage to Philip for his French dominions, and perform ſeveral other acts expreſſive of his acknowledging him as lawful king of France. It is even probable, that he never would have proſecuted his claim, unleſs invited by ſome very favourable opportunity; if many occaſions of quarrel had not ariſen between him and Philip, eſpecially about the affairs of Scotland. Philip not only afforded an aſylum to the young king and Reaſon of Edward's aſſerting his claim.

[68] Specileg. tom. 3 p. 87. Mem. de l'Acad. de B. L. tom. 20. p. 459, &c.

queen

A.D.1337. queen of Scotland, when obliged to abandon their country, but he alſo encouraged their partiſans, ſending them ſmall ſupplies of men and money, and was now making great preparations to give them a very powerful aid. Edward, greatly incenſed at this and other injuries, reſolved to revive his claim to the crown of France, and carry the war into that country.

Edward prompted by Robert d'Artois.

He was much confirmed and encouraged in this reſolution by Robert d'Artois (a prince of the blood-royal of France, and king Philip's brother-in-law), who had lately taken ſhelter in the court of England, where he met with a very kind reception [69]. This Robert had many years before maintained a law-ſuit for the county of Artois, which was adjudged to his rival by a definitive ſentence of Philip the Fair, in 1309. Though Robert was obliged to ſubmit to this ſentence, he always conſidered it as oppreſſive and unjuſt. But when Philip de Valois, his brother-in-law, mounted the throne of France, he began to entertain hopes of getting this ſentence reverſed; and preſuming, perhaps too much, on the favour of his prince, to whom he was ſo nearly allied, he was unhappily privy to the forging certain deeds for ſtrengthening his title to the diſputed territory [70]. The forgery was detected; a ſentence of baniſhment and confiſcation was pronounced againſt Robert; who retired, firſt into Brabant, and afterwards into Eng-

[69] Rymer, t. 4. p. 747. Froiſſart, l. 1. c. 27.
[70] Froiſſart, l. 1. c. 26. p. 31.

land,

land, inflamed with the moſt violent and implacable rage againſt Philip, who had behaved, as he thought, with unbecoming ſeverity on this occaſion. To gratify at once his reſentment againſt Philip, and to recover the eſtates and honours which he had loſt, this illuſtrious exile laboured earneſtly to perſuade Edward of the validity of his title to the crown of France, and of the practicability of making good that title [71]. Theſe perſuaſions were too agreeable not to be ſucceſsful; and about the beginning of this year, he came to a final reſolution to attempt the acquiſition of the crown of France, which he believed to be his right. A.D. 1337.

Edward's preparations for invading France.

Edward, well knowing the difficulty of the enterpriſe in which he was engaging, and that without powerful allies on the continent, ſtrong fleets and armies, and a mighty maſs of treaſure, he could expect no ſucceſs in it, laboured to procure all theſe with much diligence. By his ambaſſadors, he concluded treaties with the emperor Lewis of Bavaria, the dukes of Brabant and Guilders, the archbiſhop of Cologne, the marquis of Juliers, the counts of Hainault and Namur, the lords Tauquemont, Bacquen, and ſome others; who, for certain ſubſidies, engaged to aſſiſt him with their forces in his deſigns againſt France [72]. The earl of Flanders would have been a moſt uſeful ally to Edward on this occaſion, on account of the power and wealth of his ſubjects, and the ſituation of

[71] Froiſſart, l. 1. c. 29. p. 36.

[72] Rymer, vol. 4. p. 752—777, &c. Froiſſart, l. 1. c. 29. 33. 36.

his

A.D.1337. his country; and he courted his alliance by the moſt tempting offers. But that prince was ſteady and warm in his attachment to Philip. This obliged the king of England to cultivate the friendſhip of a factious demagogue of that country, one James d'Arteville, a brewer in Ghent, who was at the head of a very powerful party againſt the earl, and really poſſeſſed more authority in the rich cities of Flanders than their lawful prince. By the influence of this man, theſe cities were brought to favour the deſigns of Edward, and to invite him to land his army in their territories. This whole year was ſpent in forming theſe alliances, and making other preparations for this grand expedition [73].

A.D.1338. Edward collects money for his expedition.

Though Edward had obtained a conſiderable aid from a parliament which met laſt year about Michaelmas, he ſoon found that this would not be ſufficient to enable him to fulfil his engagements with his foreign allies, and make the other neceſſary preparations for the invaſion of France. He called another parliament, therefore, to meet at Weſtminſter February 3; and his deſigns againſt France were at this time ſo popular, that he obtained from the prelates, barons, and knights of ſhires, one half of their wool of this year [74]; a very valuable and extraordinary grant! Beſides this, he levied money by many other methods. He ſeized all the tin in Cornwall and Devonſhire;—took poſſeſſion of the lands of all priories alien;—the

[73] Froiſſart, l. 1. c. 30.

[74] Rymer, vol. 5. p. 3.

money, jewels, and valuable effects of the Lombard merchants, the great dealers in money of these times. He demanded certain quantities of bread-corn, oats, and bacon, from each county, borrowed their silver-plate from many abbies, as well as great sums of money, both abroad and at home, and pawned his very crown for 50,000 florins [75]. Such mighty efforts were necessary to set this great machine in motion! A.D. 1338.

Edward embarks for France.

Having at length got all things in readiness, and appointed his eldest son Edward guardian of the kingdom, he sailed from the port of Orwell, in Suffolk, July 16, with a gallant fleet and army [76].

Finds his allies backward.

At his arrival on the continent, he was far from finding his allies so ready and willing to enter upon action as he expected, presenting him with difficulties, scruples, and excuses, instead of troops. This obliged him to spend this whole year in negotiations. To remove the scruples of the Flemings about fighting against their liege lord the king of France, he assumed, after much hesitation, the dangerous title of *king of France* [77]. That he might have a pretence for commanding the German princes, he obtained from the emperor, in an interview he had with that prince September 2, the title of *vicar of the empire* [78]. To some of

[75] Rymer, vol. 5. p. 3. 48, 49, 50, 51. 60. 101. Walsing. p. 146. Knyghton, p. 2570, 2571.

[76] Rymer, vol. 5. p. 64, 65. Walsing. p. 136.

[77] Rymer, vol. 5. p. 66. R. de Avesbury, p. 51—54.

[78] Knyghton, p. 2572.

A.D.1338. his allies he granted advantages in trade, to others honours, and to all large ſums of money; which ſo exhauſted his treaſures, that he aſked and obtained freſh ſupplies from a parliament which was held this year in his abſence [79]. At length, with much difficulty and great expence, he brought all his allies to agree to rendezvous with their troops next year by July 8, in order to begin the war by the ſiege of Cambray. That Edward might be near at hand to keep his allies ſteady, and quicken their preparations, he ſpent the winter at Antwerp.

A.D.1339. Edward invades France. But after all his labours and expences, Edward found his allies ſtill dilatory and irreſolute, and inſatiable in their demands for money; which obliged him, not only to ſtretch his credit to the utmoſt in borrowing, but alſo to pawn his queen's jewels [80]. It was about the middle of September before he could bring his army into the field; and when he approached the confines of France, the counts of Namur and Hainault refuſed to march any further, and retired with their forces [81]. After this defection, Edward had ſtill an army of 47,000 men, with which he ravaged the countries of Cambreſis and Vermandois [82].

King Philip's preparations. Philip, who had ſufficient warning of this formidable invaſion, had not been indolent in preparing for his own defence. He had formed alli-

79 Knyghton, p. 2571.
80 Rymer, vol. 5. p. 83. 91. 110. 118. 120.
81 Froiſſart, l. 1. c. 39.
82 Heming. p. 305, 306. Knyghton, col. 2574.

ances

ances with the king of Bohemia and Navarre, the dukes of Brittany, Lorraine, and Auſtria, the palatine of the Rhine, the biſhop of Liege, the counts of Deuxpont, Vaudemont, Geneva, and ſome others, and now appeared at the head of an army of 100,000 men. The two armies lay ſeveral weeks within a few leagues of one another; and even faced each other ſeveral days in the field in order of battle. But Philip keeping on the defenſive, as unwilling to hazard his crown and kingdom in an engagement; and Edward finding no opportunity of attacking a force ſo much ſuperior to advantage, both armies retired into winter-quarters without having come to action [83]. Thus ended this firſt campaign, in which Edward reaped no real advantage from all the immenſe ſums of money which he had expended, and a prodigious debt of 300,000l. which he had contracted [84]: a circumſtance which would have diſcouraged a prince of leſs reſolution from proceeding any further in ſo ruinous an undertaking. A.D. 1339.

Among other engagements into which Edward had entered with his allies, this was one,—Not to leave the continent till the war was ended. But this engagement he now found it impoſſible to perform, his preſence being indiſpenſably neceſſary in England to procure ſupplies for carrying on the war. Having therefore left his queen, and infant ſon Lionel, afterwards duke of Clarence, with four A.D. 1340. Edward returns to England.

[83] Froiſſart, l. 1. c. 41, 42, 43. Heming. p. 307—312. Walſing. p. 143. [84] Cot. Abridg. p. 17.

A.D.1340. earls, at Antwerp, as hoſtages for his return within a week after Midſummer, he ſet out for England, and landed at Harwich, February 21[85].

Parliaments. Though the people of England, dazzled with the proſpect of conquering France, had lately made more liberal and frequent grants in parliament than on any former occaſion, ſeeing no end of new demands, they began to be a little more backward. At a parliament which had been held in October laſt year, the knights of ſhires refuſed to agree to an aid propoſed by the barons, till they had conſulted their conſtituents; and time was allowed them to the 20th January this year for that purpoſe. When they met in January they agreed to the aid, but clogged it with very hard conditions[86]. On the king's arrival a new parliament was ſummoned to meet March 29, before which he laid a very affecting repreſentation of his neceſſities. He told them, that, without a very large ſupply, all his deſigns would be ruined, and himſelf diſhonoured; that he was obliged to return to Bruſſels, and to ſtay there till all the debts which he had contracted abroad were paid. The parliament, moved with this repreſentation, granted him the ninth ſheaf, fleece, and lamb, of all their lands for two years; and the citizens and burgeſſes granted a ninth of their moveables, according to their real value; beſides a very great addition to the cuſtoms on wool, wool-fells, leather, and other

[85] Rymer, vol. 5. p. 140, 141, 171.
[86] Knyghton, p. 2571. Cotton Abridg. p. 17.

goods.

goods. In conſideration of this ample ſupply, the king remitted ſome old debts, and relinquiſhed the feudal aid for knighting his eldeſt ſon and marrying his eldeſt daughter[87]. Some time after the clergy granted a tenth of their revenues for three years. For a preſent ſupply of money, the king borrowed great ſums from merchants and others, particularly twenty thouſand marks from the city of London[88]. A.D. 1340.

Edward having collected as much money as he could in England, began to think of returning to the continent, agreeable to his engagements, and in order to bring his army into the field. But before he embarked, he received intelligence that a French fleet of 400 ſail was waiting near Sluys to intercept him[89]. To prevent this, he collected a fleet of 260 ſtout ſhips, in which he ſailed from Orwell, June 22, towards the coaſt of Flanders. About ten in the morning on Midſummer-day, the two fleets engaged off the harbour of Sluys, where a moſt obſtinate and bloody battle was fought. But the Engliſh fleet having gained the wind of the enemy, and their archers and other troops, animated by the preſence and example of their heroic king, fighting with irreſiſtible bravery, they at length obtained a moſt glorious and complete victory. Thirty thouſand French were killed in the action, or drowned in attempting to get on ſhore; 200 of their ſhips were taken; and Edward, with Edward obtains a victory at ſea.

[87] Knyghton, p. 2576. [88] Heming. p. 318, 319.
[89] Avesbury, p. 89. Froiſſart, l. 1. c. 51. Rymer, vol. 5. p. 195.

A.D.1340. his victorious fleet, entered the harbour of Sluys next day in triumph[90].

Fruits of this victory.

This victory was of great advantage to Edward's affairs both at home and abroad. A parliament which met ſoon after at Weſtminſter took every poſſible method to haſten the payment of the great ſupplies lately granted, to enable the king to purſue his good fortune. His allies were animated with ſuch uncommon ardour and unanimity, that on the 9th day of July (as he wrote to his parliament) he ſaw himſelf at the head of a gallant army of 100,000 men, beſides a body of 40,000 Flemings[91].

Ill ſucceſs of Edward's arms.

Very high expectations were entertained from theſe two powerful armies, commanded by ſo brave and fortunate a prince as Edward, and ſo wiſe and experienced a general as Robert d'Artois. But the event was not agreeable to theſe expectations. The Flemiſh army formed the ſiege of St. Omers on July 22, but being compoſed chiefly of mechanics unuſed to arms, they made little progreſs in the ſiege; and on the firſt ſally of the garriſon, they were ſeized with a panic, and entirely diſperſed, never to be rallied[92].

Siege of Tournay.

Edward advanced at the head of his army, and about the end of July laid ſiege to the city of Tournay, one of the richeſt and moſt populous

[90] Froiſſart, l. 1. c. 51. Aveſbury, p. 54—59. Knyghton, p. 2577. Walſing. p. 148. Rymer. vol. 5. p. 195.

[91] Rymer, vol 5. p. 197, 198, 199.

[92] Froiſſart, l. 1. c. 63.

cities

cities of Flanders, zealouſly attached to the French intereſt. Philip having received intelligence of this deſign, had put 14,000 of his braveſt troops, under ſome of his beſt officers, into Tournay, who, with 15,000 of the inhabitants in arms, formed a garriſon which baffled all the efforts of the beſiegers [93]. A.D. 1340.

The king of France, attended by the kings of Scotland, Bohemia, and Navarre, and an illuſtrious train of many other princes, with a very powerful army, remained at ſome diſtance from Tournay in great tranquillity. When the two armies were in this ſituation, Edward ſent a challenge to his enemy, giving him only the name of Philip de Valois, propoſing to deciſe the quarrel by ſingle combat, or with one hundred men on each ſide, or by a general engagement. To this challenge Philip returned a diſdainful anſwer, reproaching Edward with the violation of his oath of homage, and rebellion againſt his liege lord [94]. Edward's challenge and Philip's anſwer.

Edward, deſpairing of taking Tournay by force, turned the ſiege into a blockade, in hopes of reducing it by famine. In this he would probably have ſucceeded, if many of the inhabitants had not been permitted to retire through the quarters of the duke of Brabant. At length, however, the place was reduced to great diſtreſs for want of proviſions; of which Philip being informed, he advanced with Tournay reduced to great diſtreſs.

93 Froiſſart, l. 1. c. 54. Knyghton, col. 2578.
94 Rymer, vol. 5. p. 198, 199. Heming. p. 323—326. R. de Avelbury, p. 59—63.

A.D.1340. his army within three leagues, in hopes of conveying into it ſome relief. When the two armies were ſo near each other, frequent ſkirmiſhes happened, and a general engagement was daily expected[95].

Truce concluded. When things were in this critical poſture, a powerful mediatrix interpoſed, and prevented the further effuſion of blood. This was Jane counteſs-dowager of Hainault, mother-in-law to the king of England, and ſiſter to the king of France; who prevailed with theſe two princes, to agree to a ceſſation of hoſtilities for three days, and to appoint plenipotentiaries to treat of an accommodation in that time. The plenipotentiaries met accordingly; and on the laſt day of the ceſſation, September 25, concluded a truce, which was to continue from that time to the 25th of June next year. By this truce, in which the Scots were included, if they pleaſed, all hoſtilities were immediately to ceaſe, and every thing to remain in its preſent ſtate[96].

Diſadvantageous to Edward. This truce was highly advantageous and agreeable to the king of France, who thereby gained all his ends without any hazard. It was no leſs pernicious and diſpleaſing to the king of England, who was thereby deprived of all the fruits of all his toils and expences. But as it had been negotiated by his chief allies, to whom he was deeply indebted, who were weary of the war, and unwilling to fight, he found himſelf under a neceſſity of conſenting to it.

[95] Knyghton, col. 2578. [96] Rymer, t. 5. p. 203—210. Knyghton, col. 2578. R. de Avebury, p. 65—70.

One

A.D. 1340. Negotiations for a peace.

One deſign of this truce was to afford time to negotiate a peace; and commiſſioners from both kings met at Arras, and treated of that matter in preſence of the pope's legates, who acted as mediators. But though Edward was now very moderate in his demands, inſiſting only on being excuſed from doing homage for his French dominions, Philip would make no conceſſions, and even refuſed to treat till Edward had laid aſide the title and arms of king of France, and renounced all his claims to that crown; which rendered theſe negotiations of peace ineffectual. The commiſſioners however prolonged the truce to 25th June 1342 [97].

Though one parliament laſt year had granted very liberal ſupplies, and another had made ſeveral wiſe regulations for converting them into money, and remitting them to the king, thoſe entruſted with the execution had acted with ſo little diligence or fidelity, that few remittances had been made, which was one great cauſe of the backwardneſs of the allies, and the miſcarriage before Tournay. As ſoon therefore as Edward could diſengage himſelf after the concluſion of the truce, being greatly chagrined at his debts and diſappointments abroad, and at the negligence of his ſervants at home, he haſtened with great ſecrecy towards the ſea-coaſt, and embarking, landed November 30, about midnight, at the Tower of London, which he found quite unguarded [98].

[97] Rymer, t. 5. p. 242. 251. 266. Froiſſart, l. 1. c. 64.

[98] Walſing. p. 155. 147. Heming. p. 326, 327. Rymer, t. 5. p. 216. Anglia Sacra, t. 1. p. 20.

The

A.D.1340. Edward punishes many of his servants.

The first storm of his indignation fell upon those who had the custody of that fortress, who were all imprisoned. He then sent for the bishop of Chichester lord chancellor, and the bishop of Litchfield lord treasurer, who not being able to exculpate themselves to his satisfaction, were deprived of these high offices [99]. Many other great officers, judges, clerks of chancery, &c. of which some were clergymen, were apprehended and put in prison [100].

Edward's quarrel with archbishop Stratford.

The greatest delinquent, and the chief object of the king's resentment, escaped his hands. This was John Stratford archbishop of Canterbury, who had acted as prime minister in England in the king's absence. This prelate had been a great promoter of the war with France, encouraging the king to undertake it, by promising to furnish him with constant supplies of money [101]. But being gained (as it is supposed) by the pope, who favoured Philip, he had acted in a manner very inconsistent with his promises, retarding rather than forwarding the supplies [102].

Presumption of the archbishop.

The archbishop, dreading the king's displeasure, retired to Canterbury; and when he was invited to court, refused to come. At the same time he commenced a most flaming patriot, and zealous defender of the immunities of the church, in order

99 Walsing. p. 147—150.
100 Id. ibid. Anglia Sacra, vol. 1. p. 20, 21.
101 Anglia Sacra, vol. 1. p. 24.
102 Rymer, vol. 5. p. 225. 236. 240. Ang. Sac. vol. 1. p. 24. 37.

to

to gain the people and clergy to his intereſt. In this ſpirit he wrote one letter to the king, another to the chancellor, and a third to the council, charging them, in not very reſpectful terms, with violating the great charter, and the immunities of the church, by impriſoning clerks; and threatening them all, except the king and royal family, with excommunication, if they did not immediately releaſe the impriſoned clergymen. In the ſame ſtrain he wrote to all the biſhops of his province, exhorting and commanding them to publiſh excommunications againſt all who violated the charters, and the immunities of the church, by impriſoning or doing any injury to clerks[103]. A.D.1340.

The king and his council, perceiving by theſe proceedings of the primate, that he deſigned to raiſe a flame in the kingdom, and imitate his factious predeceſſor Becket, reſolved to act againſt him with prudence and firmneſs. To deprive him of his popularity, a manifeſto was publiſhed in the king's name, charging the archbiſhop with treachery,—ingratitude,—giving the king ill advice,—embezzling his revenues,—and ſeveral other crimes[104]. To this manifeſto the archbiſhop publiſhed a moſt inſolent reply; calling it a ſcandalous libel, telling the king in plain terms, that the ſacerdotal was ſuperior to the regal power, and flatly denying all the crimes laid to his charge[105]. For A.D.1341. Progreſs and concluſion of this quarrel.

[103] Anglia Sacra, vol. 1. p. 21—42. Walſing. p. 150—154. Heming. p. 331—344.

[104] Walſing. p. 154.

[105] Anglia Sacra, vol. 1. p. 27.

this

A.D. 1341. this an information being preferred againſt him in the exchequer, he declined the juriſdiction of the court, and appealed to parliament. A parliament accordingly met, April 23, at Weſtminſter. The archbiſhop, ſupported by his ſuffragans and ſome temporal lords, attempted ſeveral times to take his place in parliament; but was not permitted to do it till the charge againſt him had been examined. This firmneſs of the king at length overcame the haughtineſs of the primate, and obliged him to make his ſubmiſſion publicly in the painted chamber; upon which he was admitted to take his ſeat, and a committee was appointed to examine his anſwers, and report their opinion to the next parliament[106]. But as this parliament did not meet till two years after, the archbiſhop had before that time ſo effectually reconciled himſelf to his ſovereign, that all proceedings againſt him were cancelled. Thus ended this violent conteſt between the crown and the mitre, which at its beginning ſeemed to threaten more ſerious conſequences.

Edward's allies deſert him.

Edward's raſh and imprudent ſcheme of conquering France by the hands of mercenary allies, who had no immediate intereſt in the event of the war, and did not really deſire its ſucceſs, had involved him in very great difficulties. In proſecuting this ſcheme, he had loſt almoſt all his conqueſts in Scotland—had drained England of its money, and moſt valuable commodities—had

[106] Anglia Sacra, p. 395, 40.

ſtripped

ſtripped himſelf of his diadem, and his queen of her jewels, which were laid in pawn—and had contracted a great load of debt, which was daily increaſing by exorbitant intereſt, without having conquered one foot of ground, or made the leaſt progreſs in his deſign. To complete his vexation and perplexity, he now beheld thoſe allies, on whom he had laviſhed all his treaſures, abandoning him one after another, as ſoon as they obſerved his coffers were empty. All theſe circumſtances would probably have diſcouraged him from proſecuting his claim to the crown of France, if an unexpected event had not happened, which revived his hopes. A.D. 1341.

Diſputed ſucceſſion of Brittany.

Arthur II. duke of Brittany, had by his firſt wife three ſons, John, Guy, and Peter; and by his ſecond wife one ſon, named John de Mountfort, from the name of his mother's family. Arthur had been ſucceeded by his eldeſt ſon John III. who died this year April 30, without iſſue. Guy, the ſecond ſon of Arthur, had died about ten years before; but had left one daughter, named Jane. Peter, the third ſon of Arthur, had died young without iſſue; and John de Mountfort, the ſon of Arthur by his ſecond wife, was ſtill alive. John III. deſirous to preſerve his country from the miſeries of a diſputed ſucceſſion, had married his niece Jane, the daughter of his brother Guy, to Charles de Blois, nephew to the king of France, and got Charles to be formally acknowledged by the ſtates of Brittany as his preſumptive heir and

ſucceſſor

A.D. 1341. ſucceſſor in that duchy [107]. John de Mountfort made no oppoſition to this deſignation during the life of John III. but as ſoon as that prince died, he declared himſelf his ſucceſſor, ſeized his treaſures, and by various means got poſſeſſion of ſeveral of the ſtrongeſt towns of Brittany; whilſt Charles de Blois, not imagining he had any rival, was gone to Paris to perform homage and receive inveſtiture.

Mountfort forms an alliance with Edward.

But though Mountfort had got theſe advantages, he was very ſenſible that he could not maintain poſſeſſion againſt his rival Charles, favoured by the ſtates of Brittany, and ſupported by the king of France, without the aſſiſtance of ſome very powerful ally. Edward king of England was both moſt likely and moſt able to afford him that aſſiſtance: he haſtened over to England, therefore, and entered into a ſtrict alliance with Edward for the advancement of their ſeveral claims [108].

Mountfort eſcapes from Paris.

John de Mountfort, ſoon after his return to Nantes, received a ſummons to attend the court of the peers of France, to ſhew his title to the duchy of Brittany. This ſummons he imprudently obeyed, and was commanded by Philip not to leave Paris for fifteen days; in which time his cauſe ſhould be determined. But Mountfort, juſtly apprehenſive of being ſeized, made his eſcape out of Paris, in diſguiſe, and got ſafe to Brittany [109].

[107] Froiſſart, l. 1. c. 65. D'Argentré Hiſt. de Brit. l. 10. c. 42. l. 11. c. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6. Aveſbury, p. 97.

[108] Froiſſart, l. 1. c. 69. Aveſbury, p. 97.

[109] Aveſbury, p. 69, 70.

A few

A few days after this eſcape, the court of peers determined this great cauſe, and adjudged the duchy of Brittany to belong to Charles de Blois in right of his wife. Charles having obtained this ſentence in his favour, and, which was of more conſequence, an army from the king of France to put it in execution, marched into Brittany, and was ſo fortunate as to take the city of Nantes, and the perſon of his rival, about the end of October. Mountfort was ſent to Paris, and ſhut up in the tower of the Louvre [no].

A.D. 1341. Brittany adjudged to Charles de Blois, who takes Mountfort priſoner.

The captivity of this prince ſeemed to put an end to his pretenſions to the duchy of Brittany, and to the hopes of Edward from his alliance. But both theſe were revived and ſupported by a perſon from whom it could not have been expected. This was Jane, wife of the impriſoned Mountfort, and ſiſter to the earl of Flanders, one of the moſt illuſtrious heroines in the liſts of fame. This princeſs, rouſed by the captivity of her huſband and the impending ruin of her family, aſſembled the inhabitants of Rennes, where ſhe then reſided; and, holding her infant ſon in her arms, harangued them in a ſtrain at once ſo bold and ſo affecting, that they were ſeized with the ſtrongeſt political enthuſiaſm, and declared their reſolution to live and die in her defence. Having made a progreſs through the other towns of Brittany, and inſpired their inhabitants with the ſame paſſionate zeal for the intereſts of her family, ſhe went and ſhut her-

Adventures of Jane, Mountfort's wife.

[no] Froiſſart, l. 1. c. 73.

ſelf

A.D.1341. ſelf up in the port of Hennebone, expecting the promiſed ſuccours from England[m].

A.D.1342. Expedition into Brittany. The Engliſh fleet, commanded by ſir Walter Manny, did not ſail till the beginning of July, and met with a tedious paſſage, which expoſed the illuſtrious heroine to whoſe aſſiſtance it was ſent to the greateſt dangers, and gave her an opportunity of performing the moſt glorious exploits. She was beſieged in Hennebone in the ſpring by Charles de Blois, who puſhed the ſiege with all poſſible ardour, in hopes of taking the counteſs priſoner, and thereby putting an end to the war. But all his efforts were in vain. The garriſon and inhabitants, animated by the preſence and example of their female commander, who appeared on the walls completely armed, and was foremoſt in every danger, repelled all his aſſaults. At one time, ſhe broke through the beſieging army with about 200 horſe; and in a few days returning with a reinforcement, cut her way into the town. But at length the walls of the place were ſo ſhattered, that it was no longer tenable; and the biſhop of Leon was appointed to ſettle the terms of capitulation with Charles. In this critical moment the counteſs mounted a high tower, and looking eagerly towards the ſea, diſcerned a fleet at a diſtance; upon which ſhe cried out in a tranſport of joy, Succours! ſuccours! the Engliſh ſuccours! no capitulation! She was not miſtaken: the Engliſh fleet ſoon after entered the harbour, landed

[m] Froiſſart, l. 1. c. 73.

the army, and obliged Charles to raiſe the ſiege [112]. A.D. 1342.

Though theſe ſuccours which now arrived under Sir Walter Manny delivered the heroic counteſs from danger, they were not ſufficient to enable her to face her enemy in the open field, or to prevent him from taking ſeveral towns. She therefore earneſtly ſolicited further aſſiſtance from England; and Edward, determined not to abandon ſo brave and faithful an ally, ſailed from Sandwich October 5, with a conſiderable fleet and army to her aid [113]. He landed his troops without oppoſition; and though his army did not exceed 12,000 men, he divided them, and undertook at once the ſieges of Rennes, Nantz, and Vannes: an imprudent meaſure! which rendered all his attempts feeble and unſucceſsful, and gave his enemies time to collect their forces. Accordingly John duke of Normandy, eldeſt ſon of the king of France, advanced at the head of 40,000 men towards Vannes, where the king of England commanded the ſiege in perſon [114]. This obliged Edward to collect all his troops, and entrench them ſtrongly before Vannes, where he was ſoon after inveſted by the French army. It muſt be confeſſed, that Edward and his little army were now in a very critical ſituation; ſurrounded by enemies on all hands, and depending for their ſubſiſtence on ſupplies from England, which might be retarded by

Expedition into Britany.

[112] Froiſſart. l. 1. c. 81.
[113] R. de Aveſbury, p. 98. Rymer, vol. 5. p. 343.
[114] Froiſſart, l. 1. c 98. R. de Aveſbury, p. 98—102.

A.D.1342. contrary winds, or intercepted by the enemy's fleet [115].

A.D.1343. A truce concluded.

While the two armies lay in this poſture, in a ſtate of inactivity, the Engliſh not daring to make any attempt on Vannes in the preſence of the French army, and the French not daring to attack the Engliſh in their entrenchments; two cardinals arrived to mediate a peace, or at leaſt a truce. Theſe mediators brought about a truce between the kings of France and England, and their allies on both ſides, to commence January 19, and to continue to Michaelmas in the year 1346: during which time a congreſs ſhould be held in the pope's preſence for a general peace. By the articles of this truce, all priſoners were to be ſet at liberty on both ſides: all places, both in Brittany and elſewhere, were to remain in the hands of their preſent poſſeſſors, except Vannes, which was to be ſequeſtered in the hands of the two cardinals, to be delivered by them, at the expiration of the truce, to whom they pleaſed [116]. This truce was confirmed with great ſolemnity by the oaths of both kings, and of many of their chief nobility; after which Edward embarked with his army, and having had a tedious and ſtormy paſſage, landed at Weymouth March 2 [117].

Conferences for a peace ineffectual.

A parliament, which had been ſummoned before Edward's arrival, met at Weſtminſter April 28,

[115] Froiſſart, l. 1. c. 98.

[116] Rymer, vol. 5. p. 346. 352. Aveſbury. p. 100. Walſing. p. 159.

[117] Rymer, vol. 5. p. 357. Aveſbury. p. 109. Knyghton, col. 2583.

before

before whom he laid the truce which had been lately concluded, and aſked their opinion and advice concerning the propoſed negotiations for a peace. The lords and commons having ſeparately deliberated on that ſubject, came into the royal preſence in the White chamber on May 1, where the lords firſt declared their approbation of the truce, and adviſed the king to ſend commiſſioners to treat of a peace before the pope. Then the commons, by ſir William Truſſel, declared alſo their approbation of the truce, and of negotiations for a peace, and adviſed the king to accept of a reaſonable one, if he could obtain it; but if he could not, they promiſed to aſſiſt him with all their power in maintaining his quarrel [118]. The king in conſequence of this advice, appointed Hugh Spenſer lord of Glamorgan, Ralph de Stafford baron, William de Norwich dean of Lincoln, William Truſſel knight, and Andrew de Offord profeſſor of civil law, his commiſſioners (to whom he afterwards added others) to treat of peace with the commiſſioners of Philip de Valois before the pope, as a common friend, but not as a judge [119]. Theſe conferences were accordingly opened at Avignon, where the pope then reſided, October 22, and continued to November 29, when they broke up without effect; though the pope ſeems to have laboured with great earneſtneſs for a peace. A.D. 1343.

In the mean time, each party made bitter complaints againſt the other for violating the truce; which The truce ill obſerved.

[118] Rymer, vol. 5. p. 472. [119] Id. ibid. p. 366. 382.

A.D.1343. ſeems to have been very ill obſerved on both ſides [120]. On the one hand, Philip had detained John de Mountfort ſtill in priſon, contrary to an article of the truce, and had ſeized and put to death ſeveral noblemen of Brittany, who he ſuſpected had ſecretly deſerted his intereſt and embraced that of his enemy [121]. On the other hand, Edward had endeavoured to ſtrengthen his own party and that of Mountfort in Brittany, and had encouraged the inhabitants of Vannes to expel the garriſon of the cardinals, and declare for Mountfort.

A.D.1344. Preparations for war. It being now evident that the war would be renewed, both parties endeavoured to ſtrengthen themſelves as much as poſſible. It was with this view that Edward proclaimed in all countries of Europe, a grand tournament or round-table, to be celebrated at Windſor in the beginning of this year, that he might have an opportunity of engaging many brave knights in his ſervice [122]. He alſo ſummoned a parliament to meet at Weſtminſter June 7, and repreſented to them, by his chancellor, that Philip de Valois had violated the truce in no fewer than ſeven articles, and deſired their advice what was to be done on that occaſion. The parliament entering warmly into the king's views, adviſed him to be no longer abuſed by ill-

[120] Rymer, vol. 5. p. 367. 387. 394.

[121] Froiſſart. l. 1. c. 100. Knyghton, col. 2583. Aveſbury. p. 114.

[122] Walſing. p. 164. Froiſſ. l. 1. c. 101. Aſhmole, fol. 182. Rymer, vol. 5. p. 400.

obſerved

obſerved truces, but to proſecute the war with vigour, till he obtained an honourable peace; and to enable him to follow this advice, they granted him an aid of two fifteenths from the counties, and two tenths from the cities and burghs. The clergy of the province of Canterbury, at the ſame time, granted him the tenths of their livings for three years [123]. He alſo uſed another means of filling his coffers (frequently practiſed in thoſe times), by ſummoning all the gentlemen in England who had 40 l. a year to come, by Auguſt 10, to receive the honour of knighthood, or pay a ſum of money to be excuſed [124]. A.D. 1344.

War with France.

Edward having publiſhed a manifeſto, containing his reaſons for renewing the war before the expiration of the truce, ſent a ſmall reinforcement into Brittany to aſſiſt the partiſans of John de Mountfort, and a greater body of troops into Guienne, under his couſin Henry of Lancaſter earl of Derby, and ſome other Engliſh noblemen [125]. The earl of Derby acquired great honour to himſelf and to the Engliſh arms, by taking many towns, and defeating the French army commanded by the count de l'Iſle, though greatly ſuperior to his own in numbers [126]. After theſe ſucceſſes, Derby put his little army into winter-quarters at Bourdeaux, and returned to England to ſolicit a reinforcement.

[123] Knyghton, col. 2584. Rymer, vol. 5. p. 430.
[124] Rymer, vol. 5. p. 416.
[125] Froiſſart, l. 1. c. 103. Aveſbury, p. 115—121.
[126] Froiſſart, l. 1. c. 104—109.

A.D. 1345. War in Gaſcony and Brittany.

The pope made ſome propoſals in the beginning of this year, for renewing the conferences for a peace; but Edward, who had other deſigns in view, declined giving his conſent [127]. John de Mountfort, who had languiſhed four years in priſon, made his eſcape in February, by the aſſiſtance of ſome beggars, and ſoon after came over to England, where he did homage to Edward as king of France, for the dutchy of Brittany, on May 20, and returned in June with ſome Engliſh troops to ſupport his pretenſions [128]. By the aſſiſtance of theſe troops he gained ſome advantages, but did not long enjoy his liberty and good fortune, dying of a fever at Hennebon, on September 16. The earl of Derby, who returned to Guienne in June, made a campaign no leſs glorious and ſucceſsful than the former [129].

Edward's deſigns in Flanders diſappointed.

About this time Edward conceived the hopes of obtaining the earldom of Flanders for his eldeſt ſon (lately created prince of Wales) by the intrigues of his great friend James d'Arteville the factious brewer of Ghent. To favour theſe intrigues he ſailed from Sandwich on July 3, accompanied by the prince of Wales and a ſplendid train of Engliſh noblemen, and landed at Sluys. But this project was diſconcerted by the death of d'Arteville, who was torn in pieces, July 17, by his great friends the mob of Ghent, whoſe paſſions had taken a dif-

[127] Rymer, vol. 5. p. 413. 439. 446. 448.
[128] Hiſt. Geneal. de la France, vol. 1. p. 452.
[129] Rymer, vol 5. p. 458, 459.

ferent

ferent turn [130]. The miſcarriage of this ſcheme put an end to all thoughts of invading France from the ſide of Flanders, and Edward returned to England July 26 [131]. A.D. 1345.

It muſt appear ſurpriſing, that the earl of Derby was permitted to carry on his conqueſts in Guienne for two years with little oppoſition. This was probably owing to the diſorder of the finances of France at that time, and to the difficulties which Philip met with in eſtabliſhing ſeveral methods of filling his coffers. Theſe difficulties being now overcome, John duke of Normandy marched into Guienne, at the head of 100,000 men, and threatened the reduction of that province [132]. Edward being informed by the earl of Derby of this danger, prepared a great fleet and ſtrong army for his relief, and the preſervation of Guienne. But theſe preparations met with many interruptions and delays; and, even after the troops were embarked, the fleet (which conſiſted of 1000 ſail) was detained at Portſmouth from the begininng of June to the 10th July, by contrary winds [133]. A.D. 1346. Edward prepares a fleet and army to aſſiſt the earl of Derby in Gaſcony.

Godfrey de Harcourt, a Norman nobleman, having been affronted and injured by the king of France, had lately fled to the court of England, and now held the ſame place in the favour and confidence of Edward, which Robert d'Artois had formerly poſſeſſed. This nobleman perſuaded Ed- Edward invades Normandy.

130 Rymer, vol. 5. p. 474. Froiſſart, l. 1. c. 16.
131 Aveſbury, p. 122. Knyghton, col. 2585. Walſing. p. 165.
132 Froiſſart, t. 1. c. 119.
133 Rymer, vol. 5. p. 493. 508. 514. 518. Aveſbury, p. 123.

A.D.1346. ward to change his design, and, instead of sailing to Guienne, where his enemies were ready to oppose him, to invade Normandy, which was a very wealthy province, wholly unguarded, and would be a very valuable and easy prey [134]. Listening to this wise advice, he sailed from St. Helen's July 10, and landed at La Hogue in Normandy two days after. In this expedition he was attended by the prince of Wales, now fifteen years of age, by the flower of the English nobility, 4000 men at arms, 10,000 archers, and 18,000 foot; an army not half so numerous as that with which he had formerly invaded France from the side of Flanders, but far more formidable, as being composed of his own subjects, and wholly under his command. The troops had been so long on shipboard that it was thought proper to allow them six days to rest and refresh themselves before they entered upon action [135]. After this the fleet visited the several sea-ports on the coasts, and destroyed the shipping: while the army, divided into three bodies, ravaged the open country, and took and plundered the towns, which were ill fortified and worse defended. In a few weeks the troops collected an immense booty, which was put on board the fleet, and sent into England [136].

Edward's progress in Normandy.

As soon as Philip heard of this invasion, he summoned all his allies, with all the military tenants of the crown of France, except those in the army in Guienne,

[134] Froissart, l. 1. c. 121. [135] Avesbury, p. 124.
[136] Froissart, l. 1. c. 122—124. Avesbury, p. 123—127.

to

to rendezvous with their forces at St. Denis; and in the mean time he marched in perſon, at the head of all the troops he could collect, to Rouen, to ſecure that capital. It was not long before the king of England appeared with his army in ſight of that city, with a deſign to aſſault it; but not daring to paſs the Seine in the face of the French army, he marched along the banks of that river; plundering and burning all the country to the very gates of Paris [137]. But he could no where find an opportunity of paſſing the river; all the bridges being broken down, and the enemy's army attending all his motions on the oppoſite banks, with a deſign to incloſe him in the country, and ſurround him and his army. A.D. 1346.

Edward extricated himſelf by a ſtratagem. Having ſecretly prepared materials for repairing the bridge at Poiſſy, he commanded his army to decamp, and march further up the river; but inſtantly returned, repaired the bridge, and paſſed over his army with great celerity, while the enemy, having heard of his departure from Poiſſy, were purſuing their march up the river. Having thus paſſed the Seine, and thrown the French army behind him, he marched with great diligence towards Flanders, defeating the militia of Amiens, and a party of men at arms belonging to the king of Bohemia, and burning the ſuburbs of Beauvais in his march [138]. Edward paſſes the Seine, and marches towards Flanders.

But when he approached the Somme, he found himſelf in a more dangerous ſituation than before. Edward paſſes the Somme.

[137] Froiſſart, l. 1. c. 125. Aveſbury, p. 127—129.
[138] Froiſſart, l. 1. c. 125. R. de Aveſbury, p. 136.

All

A D. 1346. All the bridges on that river were broken down; an army commanded by Gondimar de Faye appeared on the oppoſite bank to diſpute his paſſage; and the king of France was at his heels, at the head of 100,000 men. In this extremity, he publiſhed a reward of 100 nobles to any one who would ſhew him a ford. A French peaſant, named Gobin Agarre, tempted by the hopes of this reward, came to Edward, and promiſed to conduct him to a ford between Abbeville and the ſea, which might be paſſed at low water. Following this guide, and marching all night, the Engliſh army arrived at the ford of Blanchetaque about ſun-riſing, Auguſt 24; where they paſſed the river, beat the army under Gondimar de Faye, and encamped that night at Noyelle, and arrived the next day at Crecy [139].

Edward halts at Crecy.

Though Edward had thus far overcome all obſtacles, and eluded or defeated all his enemies, he became ſenſible, that it would be extremely dangerous to purſue his march, with an army ſo much ſuperior to his own, eſpecially in cavalry, hanging on his rear. He determined therefore to make a ſtand, and to give his purſuers a check. For this purpoſe, he choſe his ground with great judgment, on the gentle declivity of a hill, with a thick wood in his rear. He ordered deep entrenchments to be made on each flank, and waited with firmneſs the approach of his enemies.

Philip reaches Crecy.

The king of France dreading nothing ſo much as the eſcape of the Engliſh, began the march of his

[139] Froiſſart, tom. 1. c. 126, 127. Aveſbury, p. 138.

great

great army from Abbeville early in the morning, Auguſt 26, and continued ſeveral hours with great eagerneſs, till he received intelligence that the Engliſh had halted at Crecy, and were prepared to give him battle. He was adviſed at the ſame time, not to engage that day, when his troops were much fatigued with their march, and in great diſorder; and he was diſpoſed to have taken this advice. But the diſcipline of theſe times was ſo imperfect, that the orders given for halting were not obeyed; and one corps of this mighty hoſt impelling another, they continued advancing till they came into the preſence of their enemies in much confuſion. A.D. 1346.

Engliſh order of battle.

Edward had employed the forenoon of this important day in drawing up his army in the moſt excellent order in three lines. The firſt line, which conſiſted of 800 men at arms, 4000 Engliſh archers, and 600 Welch foot, was commanded by his young, amiable, and heroic ſon, the prince of Wales, aſſiſted by the earls of Warwick and Oxford, and ſeveral other noblemen; the ſecond line, compoſed of 800 men at arms, 4000 halbardiers, and 2400 archers, was led by the earls of Arundel and Northampton; the laſt line or body of reſerve, in which were 700 men at arms, 5300 billmen, and 6000 archers, was ranged along the ſummit of the hill, and conducted by the king in perſon, attended by the lords Moubray, Mortimer, and others.

Edward refreſhes and encourages his army.

When the army was completely formed, Edward rode along the lines, and by his words and looks inſpired his troops with the moſt ardent courage and

A.D.1346. and ſtrongeſt hopes of victory. He then commanded the cavalry to diſmount, and the whole army to ſit down upon the graſs, in their ranks, and refreſh themſelves with meat, drink, and reſt. As ſoon as the French army came in view, they ſprung from the ground, full of ſtrength and ſpirit, and ſtood ready to receive them.

French order of battle. The king of France, aſſiſted by the kings of Bohemia and Majorca, the dukes of Lorraine and Savoye, and ſeveral other ſovereign princes, with the flower of the French nobility, laboured to reſtore ſome degree of order to his prodigious army, and drew it up alſo in three lines, but very indiſtinctly formed. The firſt line was commanded in chief by the king of Bohemia; the ſecond by the earl of Alenſon, the king of France's brother; and the third by Philip in perſon; and each of theſe lines contained a greater number of troops than the whole Engliſh army.

The battle of Crecy was begun about three o'clock in the afternoon, Auguſt 26, by a great body of Genoeſe croſs-bow men, in the French ſervice, who let fly their quarrels at too great a diſtance to do any execution, and were preſently routed by a ſhower of arrows from the Engliſh archers. The earl of Alenſon, after trampling to death many of the flying Genoeſe, advanced to the charge, and made a furious attack on that corps commanded by the prince of Wales. The earls of Arundel and Northampton advanced with the ſecond line to ſuſtain the prince, and Alenſon was

ſupported

ſupported by as many troops as could crowd to his aſſiſtance. Here the battle raged for ſome time with uncommon fury; and the earl of Warwick, anxious for the fate of the day and the ſafety of the prince, ſent a meſſenger to the king, intreating him to advance with the third line. Edward, who had taken his ſtand on a wind-mill on the top of the hill, from whence he had a full view of both armies, aſked the meſſenger, if his ſon was unhorſed, or wounded, or killed; and being anſwered, that the prince was unhurt, and performing prodigies of valour, "Go then," ſaid he, "and tell my "ſon and his brave companions, that I will not "deprive them of any part of the glory of their "victory." This flattering meſſage being made known, inſpired the prince and his troops with redoubled ardour; and the king of Bohemia, the earl of Alenſon, and many other great men being ſlain, the whole firſt and ſecond lines of the French army were put to flight. Philip, undiſmayed at the ſlaughter of his troops, and the fall of ſo many princes, advanced to the charge with the line under his immediate command. But this body ſoon ſhared the ſame fate with the other two; and Philip, after having been unhorſed, and wounded in the neck and thigh, was carried off the field by John de Hainault, and fled with no more than five knights, and about ſixty ſoldiers in his company, of all his mighty army, which at the beginning of the battle conſiſted of more than 120,000 men. Such was the famous victory of Crecy, A.D. 1346.

the

A.D.1346. the greateſt ever gained by any king of England [140].

Behaviour of Edward and the prince of Wales.

After the battle, the king flew into the arms of the prince of Wales, and graſping him to his boſom, cried, in an ecſtacy of joy, "My dear ſon, you have "this day ſhewed yourſelf worthy of the knighthood "which you lately received, and of the crown for "which you have ſo bravely fought; perſevere in "your honourable courſe." The prince, as modeſt as he was brave, ſunk down on his knees, his face covered with bluſhes, and begged his father's bleſſing [141].

Loſs of the French.

Edward continued with his army at Crecy three days, employed in numbering and burying the dead. The French had left on this bloody ſcene the king of Bohemia, eleven other princes, 80 bannerets, 1200 knights, 1500 gentlemen, 4000 men at arms, and 30,000 other ſoldiers [142].

Succeſs of the Engliſh in Guienne.

Never did a more glorious year than this paſs over the head of any Engliſh monarch, the arms of Edward being every where crowned with the moſt brilliant ſucceſſes. In Guienne the duke of Normandy had been obliged to raiſe the ſiege of Aiguillon with precipitation, on Auguſt 20, after having loſt a great part of his army before its walls, in many vain aſſaults; and the earl of Derby made

140 Froiſſart, l. 1. c. 128, 129, 130, 131, 132. Walſing. p. 166. Knyghton, p. 2588. Aveſbury, p. 109. Rymer, vol. 5. p. 525.

141 Froiſſart, l. 1. c. 131.

142 Id. ibid. c. 132. Knyghton, p. 2588.

himſelf maſter of that whole province, with all its ſtrong places [143]. A.D.1346.

David Bruce, king of Scotland, having, at the inſtigation of France, invaded England with an army of 50,000 men, was, on October 12, at Nevil's croſs, near Durham, defeated in a great battle, taken priſoner, and carried to the tower of London [144]. The parliament of England, dazzled with the luſtre of ſo many victories, granted the king a very large ſupply, to enable him to proſecute the war with vigour. David Bruce king of Scotland defeated and taken priſoner.

Edward marched his victorious army from Crecy, September 1, through the Boulonnois, towards Calais, which he inveſted on the 8th of that month; and being well acquainted with its importance, he reſolved to make himſelf maſter of it if poſſible; but ſoon found that it could not be taken by force, without the deſtruction of great multitudes of his men. He therefore turned the ſiege into a blockade; and having made ſtrong entrenchments to ſecure his army from the enemy, huts to protect them from the inclemency of the weather, and ſtationed a fleet before the harbour to prevent the introduction of proviſions, he reſolved to wait with patience till the place fell into his hands by famine. The beſieged, diſcovering his intention, turned ſeventeen hundred women, children, and old people, out of the town to ſave their proviſions; A.D.1347. Siege of Calais.

[143] Froiſſart, t. 1. c. 134, 135, 136.

[144] Avelbury. p. 142. Knyghton, p. 2590. Froiſſart, l. 1. c. 137, 138, 139. Rymer, vol. 5. p. 530. 537. 539.

and

A.D.1347. and Edward had the goodneſs, after entertaining them with a dinner, and giving them two pence a piece, to ſuffer them to paſs [145].

Victory in Brittany. While Edward lay before Calais, his troops in Brittany, commanded by ſir Thomas Dagworth, defeated Charles de Blois, June 20, and took him, with two of his ſons, and many other noblemen, priſoners [146].

Fruitleſs attempt to raiſe the ſiege. Philip beheld the progreſs of the ſiege of Calais with unſpeakable anxiety, and determining to make one great effort to ſave it, he ſummoned all his allies and vaſſals to rendezvous at Amiens, in Whitſun-week. By this means he raiſed an army of 150,000 men, with which he approached the Engliſh entrenchments, July 27 [147]. But finding theſe entrenchments impregnable, and every avenue to the town effectually guarded, after ſending Edward ſome abſurd challenges to come out and fight him, he decamped, Auguſt 2, marched back to Amiens, and diſbanded his army [148].

Surrender of Calais. The garriſon and inhabitants of Calais had by this time conſumed all their proviſions, and even eaten all the horſes, dogs, cats, and vermin, in the place, and were enduring the moſt cruel extremities of famine, in hopes of relief [149]. But when they beheld the retreat of the French army, theſe hopes entirely vaniſhed; and the next day the go-

145 Froiſſart, l. 1. c. 133. Aveſbury, p. 114. Froiſſart, l. 1. c. 143.

146 Rymer, vol. 5. p. 540.

147 Froiſſart, l. 1. c. 144. Aveſbury, p. 161, 162.

148 Id. ibid. c. 145. Aveſbury, p. 161, 162.

149 Knyghton. col. 2593.

vernor

vernor John de Vienne appeared upon the walls, and offered to capitulate. Edward, greatly incenſed at their obſtinate reſiſtance, which had detained him eleven months under their walls, at an immenſe expence both of men and money, ſent ſir Walter Manny, an illuſtrious knight, to acquaint the governor, that he would grant them no terms; but that they muſt ſurrender at diſcretion. At length, however, at the ſpirited remonſtrances of the governor, and the perſuaſions of ſir Walter Manny, Edward conſented to grant their lives to all the garriſon and inhabitants, except ſix of the principal burgeſſes, who ſhould deliver to him the keys of the city, with ropes about their necks. When theſe terms were made known to the people of Calais, they were plunged into the deepeſt diſtreſs; and after all the miſeries they had ſuffered, they could not think without horror of giving up ſix of their fellow-citizens to certain death. In this extremity, when the whole people were drowned in tears, and uncertain what to do, Euſtace de Pierre, one of the richeſt merchants in the place, ſtepped forth, and voluntarily offered himſelf to be one of theſe ſix devoted victims. His noble example was ſoon imitated by other five of the moſt wealthy citizens. Theſe true patriots, barefooted and bareheaded, with ropes about their necks, were attended to the gates by the whole inhabitants, with tears, bleſſings, and prayers for their ſafety. When they were brought into Edward's preſence, they laid the keys of the city at his feet, and falling on their knees implored his mercy in ſuch moving A.D. 1347.

A.D. 1347. ſtrains, that all the noble ſpectators melted into tears. The king's reſentment was ſo ſtrong for the many toils and loſſes he had ſuffered in this tedious ſiege, that he was in ſome danger of forgetting his uſual humanity; when the queen, falling upon her knees before him, earneſtly begged, and obtained, their lives. This great and good princeſs conducted theſe virtuous citizens, whoſe lives ſhe had ſaved, to her own apartment, entertained them honourably, and diſmiſſed them with preſents [150].

Edward took poſſeſſion of Calais Auguſt 4, and in order to ſecure a conqueſt of ſo great importance, and which had coſt him ſo dear, he found it neceſſary to turn out all the ancient inhabitants, who had diſcovered ſo ſtrong an attachment to their native prince, and to people it with Engliſh [151]. Soon after this, negotiations for a peace or truce were ſet on foot under the mediation of the pope; and on September 28, a truce was concluded between the kings of England and France, and their allies on both ſides, to continue to July 8, next year; which by ſucceeding treaties was prolonged to 1355 [152]. Edward having given all neceſſary orders for repairing the fortifications of Calais, and appointed Almerie of Pavia, an Italian, who had gained his favour by ſeveral brave actions, commander of that place, he em-

[150] Froiſſart, l. 1. c. 146. R. de Aveſbury, p. 166.
[151] Rymer, vol. 5. p. 575.
[152] Id. ibid. p. 588. R. de Aveſbury, p. 167—177.

barked

barked with his queen, the prince of Wales, and many noble perſons, and after a ſtormy paſſage landed at Sandwich October 12 [153]. A.D. 1347.

It had been the wiſe policy of Edward to acquaint his parliament with all his proceedings, and aſk their advice on every emergency; by which he gained their confidence and ſupport. Soon after his return, he ſummoned a parliament to meet, January 14, at Weſtminſter, whoſe advice he aſked concerning the war with France (which was only ſuſpended by a ſhort truce), and concerning the beſt means of preſerving the internal peace of the kingdom. The commons, who had paid very dear for the martial counſels they had formerly given, declined giving any advice about the war, which they ſuſpected would be followed by the demand of a ſubſidy [154]. This parliament not anſwering the king's views, who wanted an aid, though he had not the confidence to aſk it, he diſmiſſed them; and ſoon after ſummoned another to meet at the ſame place, March 17. Before this meeting he laid an alarming repreſentation of mighty preparations making in France, with a deſign, as he ſaid, to invade England, and deſtroy the whole kingdom; and demanded an aid to enable him to avert this imminent danger. The commons, after very bitter complaints of their extreme poverty, and of the late ſevere taxations, granted three fifteenths to be A.D. 1348.

[153] Rymer, vol. 5. p. 594. Walſing. p. 167.
[154] Parliamentary Hiſt. vol. 1. p. 268—272.

A.D.1348. levied in three years, and appropriated to the charges of the war [155].

Plot to betray Calais discovered.

Edward ſoon found that he had made a very wrong choice of a governor for his new conqueſt of Calais. That ungrateful and venal Italian had allowed himſelf to be corrupted by Geoffrey de Charnay, governor of St. Omer's, and engaged for a bribe of 20,000 crowns to betray the town and caſtle into his hands. Edward received intelligence of this intended treachery, ſent for him to London, ſhewed him that he was acquainted with his guilt; but promiſſed him a pardon, if he would proceed in his plot, and betray the French into his hands. Almerie joyfully conſented to this propoſal, returned to his government, and informed Edward of the very hour when the French were to enter Calais.

A.D.1349. Plot defeated.

The king, having received this intelligence, departed ſecretly from London with the prince of Wales, and embarked at Dover with 800 men at arms, and 1000 archers, under ſir Walter Manny, with whom he was very privately admitted into the caſtle of Calais. A few hours after his admiſſion, a body of 100 French were let into the ſame caſtle; and having delivered the 20,000 crowns to the governor, a party of Engliſh ruſhed upon them, killed ſome and made the reſt priſoners. Geoffrey de Charnay, with ſeveral brave knights, and a body of men at arms, were waiting in the mean time with great impatience at the Boulogne gate of

[155] Parliament. Hiſt. vol. 1. p. 269—272. Knyghton, c. 2596.

the

the city, in expectation of being admitted. But when the gate was opened, they beheld, to their great ſurpriſe, an Engliſh army march out in order of battle to receive them. Though the French were greatly diſconcerted at this unexpected ſight, they fought for ſome time with great reſolution. During this diſpute, the king had a fierce conflict with Euſtace de Ribeaumont, a brave knight, whom he obliged to yield; and all the party were either killed or taken priſoners [156]. A.D. 1349.

As Edward was a great admirer of perſonal valour, he ordered all the French knights and gentlemen to be feaſted by the prince of Wales in the great hall of the caſtle. The king entered the hall in the time of the banquet, and diſcovered to his priſoners, that he had been preſent in the late conflict, and was the perſon who had fought hand to hand with the ſieur Ribeaumont. Then addreſſing himſelf to that gentleman, he gave him his liberty; preſented him with a chaplet adorned with pearls, which he deſired him to wear for his ſake; and declared him to be the moſt expert and valorous knight with whom he had ever engaged [157]. Generous action of Edward.

Edward having diveſted Almerie de Pavia of his command, of which he was ſo unworthy, and beſtowed it on ſir John Beauchamp, returned with the prince of Wales to England, to enjoy ſome repoſe after ſo many glorious toils and dangers. Edward returns to England.

156 Aveſbury, p. 180—182. Froiſſart, l. 1. c. 50, 51.
157 Froiſſart. l. 1. c. 150, 151, 152.

A.D.1349. Great peſtilence.

The war between France and England was ſuſpended for almoſt ſix years by ſeveral truces [158]. But the calamities of war were immediately ſucceeded by a depopulating peſtilence, which, in this and the ſucceeding year, carried off incredible multitudes in all parts of Europe, and particularly in England [159]. Thoſe who were ſeized with this plague commonly died in a few hours, and very few ſurvived three days. It raged with ſo great violence in London, that 50,000 perſons were buried in one year in one burial-place [160]. In a word, if we may believe ſome writers, this dreadful diſeaſe ſwept away, in leſs that two years, nine tenths of all the people of England, together with the far greateſt part of the cattle of all kinds [161]. But theſe accounts are certainly very much exaggerated.

A.D.1350. Naval victory.

While England was afflicted with this deſtructive peſtilence, it was threatened with an invaſion by a fleet of Spaniſh pirates, conſiſting of forty very large ſhips. Edward, full of ſpirit and activity, thinking this an enemy not unworthy of his own preſence, ſailed from Sandwich on board an Engliſh fleet, attended by many of his chief nobility, in queſt of theſe deſtructive rovers. He came up with them, Auguſt 29, off Winchelſey, where a fierce conflict enſued; in which the Spaniards were

158 Rymer, vol. 5. p. 660. 672. 690. 722. 725.
159 R. de Aveſbury, p. 177—179. Knyghton, c. 2598.
160 Stow's Survey, vol. 2. p. 62.
161 Id. ibid. p. 61. Knyghton, p. 2699. Walſing. p. 168.

defeated

defeated with great ſlaughter, and twenty-four of their ſhips taken [162]. A.D. 1350.

A few days before this naval victory, died Philip de Valois, king of France, ſirnamed *the Fortunate*, a title which very ill agreed with the latter part of his reign. He was ſucceeded by his eldeſt ſon John I. a prince ſtill more unfortunate than his father [163]. One of the firſt acts of this king was, renewing the truce with England; which, however, was very ill obſerved [164]. Death of Philip de Valois.

The animoſity between the Engliſh and French was ſo great, that neither the peſtilence, which had raged with great violence in both countries, nor the truce which ſubſiſted between them, could reſtrain them from mutual hoſtilities. For this reaſon Edward complained to a parliament, which met in January A.D. 1352, that the French had been guilty of many violations of the truce; and demanded their advice and aſſiſtance in avenging theſe injuries, and aſſerting his claim to the crown of France. The commons, after ſome days ſpent in deliberation, delivered to the king in full parliament, a roll, containing a grant of three tenths and three fiftieths, to be levied in three years, together with certain petitions, which they deſired might be converted into laws. The aid was thankfully accepted, and the petitions moſtly granted [165]. A.D. 1352. Parliament.

[162] Walſing. p. 169. R. de Aveſbury, p. 185.
[163] Aveſbury, p. 184. [164] Rymer, vol. 5. p. 690.
[165] Parliament. Hiſt. vol. 1. p. 277.

A.D.1352. Action in Brittany.

It would be tedious to relate all the little ſkirmiſhes which had happened between the Engliſh and French in Guienne, Brittany, the marches of Calais, and other places, ſince the commencement of the truce. But there was an action this year in Brittany of ſuch importance, that it ſeems to merit a place in hiſtory. The marſhal de Neſle, who commanded for the king of France and Charles de Blois in that duchy, ſurpriſed and ſurrounded a body of Engliſh troops, under ſir Walter Bently, Auguſt 14, on the plain of Mauron, near Rennes. But the Engliſh fought with ſuch aſtoniſhing valour, that they obtained a complete victory, killing the marſhal himſelf, with eighty knights, and five hundred gentlemen, and taking a hundred and ſixty knights and gentlemen priſoners [166].

A.D.1353. Negotiation for peace unſucceſsful.

Notwithſtanding all his glorious ſucceſſes in his war with France, Edward at this time ſeems to have been ſincerely inclined to peace, which was negotiating under the mediation of the pope. He went ſo far as to offer by his plenipotentiaries, the archbiſhop of Canterbury and duke of Lancaſter, to reſign his title of king of France, and accept, in lieu of all his pretenſions to that crown, the abſolute ſovereignty of Guienne, Aquitaine, the town and marches of Calais, without the obligation of homage. But king John, no leſs imprudent, raſh, and obſtinate, than his father, rejected theſe offers [167].

166 Avesbury, p. 189—192.

167 R. de Avesbury, p. 196. Walſing. p. 170. Knyghton, p. 2607.

The

The ſtate of France at this time was not ſuch as to give king John any good reaſon for behaving with ſo much haughtineſs. Beſides the great loſſes which it had ſuſtained in the late war, it was at preſent a ſcene of faction and diſcord, which had in ſome places broken out into open hoſtilities. Theſe diſorders were occaſioned chiefly by the pride, perfidy, cruelty, and other vices of Charles the Bad, king of Navarre, a prince poſſeſſed of every ſhining endowment, and deſtitute of every moral virtue. Charles inherited from his mother, Jane, daughter of Louis Hutin, great poſſeſſions, and ſtill greater pretenſions, in ſeveral provinces of France. King John, in order to gain this turbulent prince, and attach him firmly to his intereſts, gave him his daughter Jane in marriage. Notwithſtanding this intimate alliance, the perfidious Charles entered into ſecret intrigues with the king of England, cauſed the conſtable of France to be aſſaſſinated, and occaſioned great diſturbances in this and the preceding year [103]. When things were in this unſettled ſtate, the conferences for an accommodation were broken off, and all proſpect of peace vaniſhed.

A.D.1354. State of France.

Edward had for ſome time paſt forſeen that the negotiations for peace would prove abortive, and had made great preparations for renewing the war with vigour, at midſummer this year, when the truce expired. He firſt deſigned to have ſent an army, commanded by the duke of Lancaſter, into Normandy, where the king of Navarre had pro-

A.D.1355. Expedition of Edward prince of Wales commonly called the Black Prince.

[103] Froiſſart, l. 1. c. 154. Mezeray, an. 1353.

A.D. 1355. miſed to join him with all his forces. But that prince having made his peace with his father-in-law, Edward was obliged to change his meaſures [169]. The prince of Wales was ſent into the weſt to raiſe an army in thoſe parts, and a fleet was prepared at Plymouth to take them on board. Accordingly, the prince, with a gallant train of Engliſh noblemen, and a conſiderable body of Engliſh troops, ſailed from that port, September 10, and arrived ſafe at Bourdeaux. Here he was joined by ſo many noblemen of the country, with their followers, that he ſoon found himſelf at the head of an army of 60,000 men, with which he marched from Bourdeaux, October 5, and ravaged the whole province of Languedoc. He ſeveral times endeavoured to bring the French army in thoſe parts to an engagement; but finding this impoſſible, after having burnt about five hundred villages, and a great number of large and ſtrong towns, he marched back to Bourdeaux about Chriſtmas, and put his army into winter quarters [170].

Expedition of Edward into France.

While the prince of Wales was deſtroying with fire and ſword the ſouth of France, the king of England was ſpreading deſolation through the northern parts of that kingdom. Arriving at Calais in the laſt week of October, and having joined the forces he brought with him to thoſe which he found there, he made up a gallant army, with which he marched from Calais, November 2,

[169] Mezeray ad an. 1354. Froiſſart, c. 154.
[170] Avesbury, p. 210—227. Knyghton, col. 2608.

towards

towards St Omer's, where the king of France lay, in hopes of bringing him to battle. But that prince retiring at his approach, he followed him as far as Heſden, deſolating the country; and then returned to Calais, diſbanded his army, and embarked for England, where his preſence was much wanted [171]. A.D.1355.

The Scots, though their king was ſtill a priſoner in England, had taken the town of Berwick by ſurpriſe, on November 6, and were meditating an incurſion into the northern counties [172]. Edward, immediately upon his return, held a parliament at Weſtminſter, November 23; and ſir Walter Manny, by the king's command, gave the two houſes a long detail of the late negotiations for a peace, the expedition the Calais, and the ſurpriſal of Berwick by the Scots; and concluded with demanding an aid to enable the king to bring the war to a ſpeedy and happy iſſue. The commons, after ſome deliberation, granted a very liberal aid of fifty ſhillings on every ſack of wool exported for ſix years [173]. The Scots ſurpriſe Berwick. A parliament.

Edward, as ſoon as the parliament was diſſolved, ſet out for Newcaſtle, where he had commanded his army to rendezvous, in order to recover Berwick; which he inveſted January 14, A. D. 1356 [174]. The Scotch garriſon, ſenſible that the town was not tenable without the caſtle (which they had not been able to take), ſurrendered it A.D.1356. Edward retakes Berwick.

[171] Aveſbury, p. 204—209. Walſing. p. 171.
[172] R. de Aveſbury, p. 209. Knyghton, col. 2611.
[173] R. de Aveſbury, p. 210. [174] Rymer, t. 5. p. 829.

A.D.1356. in a few days [175]. Edward having burnt the towns of Haddington and Edinburgh, and deſolated the adjacent country, returned to England ſoon after Candlemas.

Baliol reſigns the crown of Scotland to Edward.

Edward Baliol ſtill bore the title of king of Scotland. But for ſeveral years paſt that title had been only an empty name, without any power or revenue. It was not difficult therefore to perſuade this ſhadow of a king, who was now an old man, and without heirs, to reſign all his rights to the crown and kingdom of Scotland to the king of England, for a penſion of 2000l. a year, and ſome other advantages. This he accordingly did at Roxburgh, by an inſtrument dated January 20; and Edward was at great pains to render his title to the crown of Scotland, from the reſignation of Baliol, as ſtrong as pen, ink, and parchment could make it, by ſeveral ſubſequent deeds [176].

Excurſions of Edward prince of Wales.

Edward prince of Wales marched from Bourdeaux, July 6, with an army of 12,000 (ſome writers ſay only 8000) men, and traverſed the countries of Agenois, Quercy, Limouſin, Auvergne, and penetrated into Berry, plundering and burning many towns and villages as he advanced. Having taken Romorantin, September 4, after a ſiege of ſix days, he continued his march through part of Touraine and Anjou, entered Poictou, and on Saturday September 17, encamped at Maupertuis, within two ſmall leagues of Poictiers. The ſame evening the king of France, with an army of 60,000 horſe, beſides foot, encamped

175 Knyghton, col. 2611. R. de Aveſbury, p. 228.

176 Rymer, t. 5. p. 823. 843. Knyghton, col. 2611.

within

within a mile of the Engliſh [177]. It would not have been very difficult for king John to have incloſed the prince of Wales and his little army, and to have reduced them by famine. But this method appeared too ſlow to his impatient courage, and he reſolved to attack them next day. Prince Edward having found that it would be impoſſible for him to reach Bourdeaux, before he was overtaken by the French army, had choſen his ground with great judgment, where he reſolved to make a ſtand. It was a ſmall inclining plain, ſurrounded with woods, vineyards, hedges, and ditches, and only acceſſible by one narrow defile in his front. His troops laboured with great ardour in making entrenchments wherever it was thought neceſſary, to render the approaches of the enemy ſtill more difficult. A.D. 1356.

Early on Sunday morning, September 18, the French army was drawn up in order of battle, and ready to begin the attack, when the cardinal of Perigord interpoſed, and earneſtly intreated the king to permit him to go to the prince of Wales, and prevent the effuſion of blood, by perſuading him to ſurrender. Having obtained permiſſion, he went to the prince, whom he found at the head of his troops ready to receive his enemies. The cardinal opened the intention of his viſit; and the prince, not inſenſible of his own danger, and that of his brave companions, declared his willingneſs to conſent to any terms not inconſiſtent with his own honour and that of his country. Upon this

Cardinal endeavours to prevent a battle.

[177] Froiſſart. c. 157—189. Walſing. p. 171. Knyghton, col. 2612.

a ne-

A.D.1356. a negotiation was ſet on foot, which prevented a battle for that day, but in the end proved abortive. The prince conſented to reſtore all the places, priſoners, and booty he had taken that campaign, and to engage not to bear arms againſt France for ſeven years, if he was allowed to march to Bourdeaux without interruption. But the king inſiſting that the whole Engliſh army, with their illuſtrious leader, ſhould ſurrender themſelves priſoners, the prince gave for his final anſwer, "That he never "ſhould be made a priſoner but ſword in hand." The cardinal, deſpairing of ſucceſs in the negotiation, retired to Poictiers; and both parties prepared for deciding this important quarrel next day by the edge of the ſword [178].

The order of the Engliſh army.

Early on Monday morning, September 19, the prince of Wales, being that day to fight for honour, liberty, and life, againſt an army eight times the number of his own, drew up his troops in the moſt excellent order. He placed the captal de Buche, with 600 men, in ambuſh, with directions to make a circuit, and fall on the enemy's rear as ſoon as the battle began. He lined the hedges on both ſides of the defile leading to his camp with his beſt archers, and placed a ſtrong body of the ſame troops at the head of it, in the front of his army. The reſt of his forces were formed into three lines; the van commanded by the earl of Warwick, the main body by the prince himſelf, and the rear by the earls of Saliſbury and Suffolk. As ſoon as theſe diſpoſitions were made,

[178] Froiſſart, l. 1. c. 161. Walſing. p. 172.

the

the prince mounted his horſe, and riding gently along the lines, with a countenance in which modeſty, goodneſs, and fortitude, were ſtrongly painted, addreſſed himſelf to every corps, exhorting them to fight valiantly in the approaching battle, telling them, that victory did not depend on numbers, but on the will of Heaven; that, for his own part, he was determined to conquer or die; and that England never ſhould have his ranſom to pay [179]. A.D. 1356.

By this time the French army (drawn up in three lines, the firſt commanded by the duke of Orleans, the king's brother, the ſecond by the dauphin, with his two brothers Lewis and John, the third by the king, attended by his youngeſt ſon Philip) was advancing to the charge. The battle was begun by three hundred choſen men in complete armour, and nobly mounted, who were ordered to paſs the defile to diſſipate the body of archers at the head of it, and make way for the reſt of the army. They obeyed theſe orders with great reſolution; but one half of them fell in the paſſage, and the other was cut in pieces at the outlet. A great body of men at arms, on foot, then entered the defile, commanded by the marſhals Clermont and Andrechan; but the former of theſe generals being killed, and the latter taken priſoner, and many of their men ſlain by the archers who lined the hedges, and by the firſt line of the Engliſh army, the reſt fled back with great Battle of Poictiers.

[179] Froiſſart, l. 1, c. 161, 162.

terror

A.D.1356. terror and precipitation, and threw the whole firſt line of the French army into confuſion. The ſecond line, commanded by the dauphin, then advanced to the charge; but at that inſtant the captal de Buche iſſuing from his ambuſcade, and making a furious attack upon their flank, they were ſeized with a panic, and began to fly. The noblemen who had the charge of the dauphin and his two brothers, anxious for their ſafety, carried them off the field; upon which that whole line diſbanded, and fled on all ſides. The prince of Wales and the other Engliſh generals obſerving the confuſion and flight of their numerous enemies, and determining not to give them time to recover from their conſternation, mounted on horſeback, with their followers, and ruſhing out into the plain, completed the diſorder. They firſt encountered and killed the duke of Athenes, conſtable of France, and diſſipated his brigade; and then falling upon a great body of German horſe, they put them to flight, after killing the counts Sarbruck and Nydo, two of their leaders, and taking the count of Naſſau, their other general, priſoner. The king of France, with his youngeſt ſon by his ſide, ſtill continued fighting on foot, in hopes of changing the fortune of the day, till the greateſt part of his guards being taken or ſlain, he found himſelf almoſt alone among a great body of his enemies, who called upon him to ſurrender. After inquiring anxiouſly for his couſin the prince of Wales, and being told that he was in a diſtant part of the field, he yielded himſelf,

himſelf, with his ſon, priſoners to Denis de Morbec, a gentleman of Artois. In the mean time the prince of Wales, ready to faint with fatigue, had been perſuaded by his attendants to repoſe and refreſh himſelf in a little tent. Being aſſured that the king of France had not fled, he was anxious to know his fate, and ſent the earl of Warwick and lord Cobham to gain intelligence. Theſe noblemen ſoon found the royal captive in extreme danger of being ſlain, by a crowd of Engliſh and Gaſcon ſoldiers, who had taken him from Morbec, and were contending violently about the right to his ranſom; and having delivered him from this danger, they conducted him to the prince's tent. This amiable prince, who in the heat of the action had been furious as a lion, was now all gentleneſs and humanity. He received his illuſtrious priſoner with all the marks of the moſt profound reſpect and feeling ſympathy; and having ordered a magnificent ſupper to be ſerved up, he declined the honour of ſitting at table; but, ſtanding behind the king's chair, entertained him with ſoothing and conſolatory diſcourſe. The captive monarch was ſo much affected by this noble deportment of his modeſt conqueror, that he melted into tears, and declared, that ſince it was his hard fate to be vanquiſhed and taken priſoner, he rejoiced that he had fallen into the hands of the moſt valiant and generous prince that ever lived [180]. A.D. 1356.

[180] Froiſſart, l. 1. c. 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, Walſing. p. 171, 172. Rymer, vol. 5. p. 869, 870.

A.D. 1356. French killed and taken.

There are not many examples in hiſtory of ſo great a deliverance, and ſo complete a victory, as the prince of Wales obtained at this famous battle of Poictiers. The French left dead on this ſcene of blood, two dukes, nineteen earls, a great number of knights and gentlemen, and about 6000 men at arms, beſides other ſoldiers. The priſoners were ſtill more numerous, and of higher quality, than the ſlain: for, beſides the king and his youngeſt ſon, there were taken three princes of the blood, one archbiſhop, ſeventeen earls, 1500 inferior barons, knights, and gentlemen; beſides ſeveral thouſand men at arms [151]. The ranſoms of theſe priſoners, and the ſpoils of the French camp, loaded the Engliſh army with riches as well as glory. The day after the battle the prince and his army returned thanks to God for their victory; after which the prince thanked his troops for their brave and gallant behaviour in the late battle, and beſtowed particular honours and rewards on ſuch as had diſtinguiſhed themſelves. To the lord Audeley in particular he granted 500 marks a-year; which that generous nobleman beſtowed on his four brave and faithful eſquires, and afterwards received a more ample grant of 600 marks a-year from the prince [152]. Having collected the ſpoils and priſoners, the prince conducted his army by eaſy marches to Bourdeaux [153]. It is impoſſible to expreſs the joy which the royal

[151] P. Æmyl. p. 197. R. de Aveſbury, p. 252—255. Knyghton, col. 2613, &c.

[152] Froiſſart, l. 1. c. 165. 167. 169. [153] Walſing. p. 172.

family

family and the people of England felt when they received the news of this glorious victory. The king commanded a ſolemn thankſgiving to be obſerved in all the churches [184]. A.D. 1356.

The prince of Wales ſpent the winter at Bourdeaux, where, by the mediation of the pope, a truce was concluded between England and France March 23, to continue till Eaſter 1359 [185]. The prince of Wales, with king John, his ſon Philip, and a gallant train of noblemen, ſet ſail from Bourdeaux April 24, and landed at Plymouth May 5 [186]. A.D. 1357. Prince of Wales, with his priſoners, arrives in England.

Great preparations had been made at London for the triumphant entry of the victorious prince and his royal captive. Early in the morning, May 24, the lord mayor and aldermen, attended by 1000 citizens, richly attired and nobly mounted, received the prince and king, with their train, at Southwark, and conducted them into the city. The king, in royal robes, was mounted on a beautiful white ſteed, and the prince in a plain dreſs, rode by his ſide on a little black palfrey. The proceſſion reached Weſtminſter-hall about noon, were king Edward was ſeated on a magnificent throne; from whence he deſcended as ſoon as the captive monarch came in view, advanced to meet him, and embraced him with all the marks of the moſt reſpectful and cordial affection. After theſe pompous ceremonies were ended, the king of Triumph.

[184] Rymer, vol. 5. p. 870.
[185] Id. t. 6. p. 4—10.
[186] Walſing. p. 172.

A.D.1357. France and his ſon were lodged in the palace of the Savoy, and entertained with all the kindneſs and courteſy which the moſt perfect laws of chivalry required [187].

King of Scotland releaſed.

Few princes ever enjoyed a more perfect felicity than king Edward did at this time. Happy in his family, adored by his ſubjects, admired by all the world, he beheld the kings of the two hoſtile nations of France and Scotland at once captives in his court. The negotiations for the releaſe of the laſt of theſe princes were ſoon after this brought to a concluſion; his ranſom was ſettled at 100,000 marks, to be paid in ten years, during which time a truce was to ſubſiſt between the two nations. David Bruce, having given ſome of his chief nobility as hoſtages for the payment of his ranſom, was ſet at liberty October 3, and returned into his own kingdom, after having endured a tedious captivity of eleven years [188].

Deplorable ſtate of France.

The deplorable conſequences of the battle of Poictiers now appeared in France, and brought that kingdom to the very brink of ruin. After the king was taken priſoner, the reigns of government naturally fell into the hands of the dauphin, a young prince of nineteen, who aſſumed the title of *Lieutenant of the kingdom*, and ſummoned an aſſembly of the eſtates at Paris in the end of the laſt year. But the members of this aſſembly, inſtead of unit-

[187] Froiſſart, l. 1. p. 173.

[188] Rymer, vol. 6. p. 30—65. Knyghton, p. 2627. Froiſſart, l. 1. c. 174. Walſing. p. 173.

ing

ing for the relief of their captivated prince, and bleeding country, fell into the moſt violent factions, and broke up in confuſion, without granting any ſupply. This licentious ſpirit which appeared in the eſtates was communicated to the populace of Paris and other cities, ſeized the peaſants in the country, inflamed the mutinous ſoldiers, and threw all things into confuſion. The dauphin called another aſſembly of the eſtates this year in the beginning of November, which behaved in the ſame factious manner, and ſeparated without applying any remedy to the diſorders of their country. To increaſe theſe diſorders, the king of Navarre, who had been thrown into priſon by king John about three years before, eſcaped from his confinement, and flew to Paris, where his party was ſtrongeſt. He was met at ſome diſtance by his great partiſan Stephen Marcel, provoſt of the merchants, at the head of 10,000 people, and conducted in a kind of triumph into the city. This turbulent prince, being poſſeſſed of an uncommon degree of popular eloquence, a dangerous talent in the hands of a bad man, mounted a ſcaffold, and harangued the people in ſuch a pathetic ſtrain, on the injuſtice of his own impriſonment, and the oppreſſions of the government, that their minds were inflamed almoſt to madneſs. They maſſacred the two marſhals Cleremont and Conflans in the dauphin's preſence, who was in danger of ſharing the ſame fate. A.D.1357.

This young prince behaved with uncommon prudence in this perilous ſituation. He flattered A.D.1358. Prudent conduct of the dauphin.

A.D.1358. the provoſt of the merchants, and the other heads of the faction, with the hopes of the higheſt honours; and yielded with ſeeming cheerfulneſs to all the demands of the king of Navarre. Amongſt other things, he ſent orders to the governors of certain cities in Normandy, to which that prince pretended a right, to ſurrender them into his hands. But the governors, ſuſpecting that theſe orders were extorted, refuſed to obey; and Charles was ſo imprudent, as to leave Paris March 2, at the head of an army of his moſt zealous partiſans, to compel them to obedience. The dauphin taking advantage of the abſence of the king of Navarre, and the good humour of the provoſt of the merchants, got himſelf declared regent of the kingdom by the parliament; and then retiring privately from Paris, he held an aſſembly of the eſtates at Compeigne May 1. The eſtates, no longer influenced by the factious ſpirit which reigned in Paris, granted ample ſupplies both of men and money; which enabled the dauphin to form the blockade of Paris with a good army.

King of Navarre claims the crown of France.

The king of Navarre, who now pretended a right to the crown of France, from his mother, Jane, daughter of Lewis Hutin, lay with an army at St. Denis. But he had already loſt much of his popularity in that city, by taking a party of Engliſh adventurers into his pay, who plundered without diſtinction the friends and enemies of their preſent maſter. The provoſt of the merchants obſerving this change in the ſentiments of the people, and dreading

dreading a total defection, formed a plot to admit the king of Navarre with his army, and to proclaim him king of France; and the 1ſt of Auguſt was fixed for the execution of this plot. But ſome ſuſpicions ariſing, the provoſt was killed in a tumult, when he was on the point of opening one of the gates; and the people being informed of the plot which he had laid, they dragged his dead body through the ſtreets, loaded the king of Navarre, ſo lately their idol, with a thouſand curſes, and loudly called for the return of the dauphin, who entered the city ſoon after, amidſt the loudeſt acclammations. The return of the capital to its obedience had a happy effect on the reſt of the kingdom, and the government daily gained new ſtrength [189]. A.D.1358.

While theſe things were doing in France, king John had been negotiating in England with king Edward for his liberty, and a peace between their kingdoms. At length a treaty of peace was concluded and ſigned by both kings, on March 24, at London, and a copy of it ſent into France. The dauphin, who was now reconciled to the king of Navarre, ſummoned an aſſembly of the eſtates, and laid the treaty before them for their advice. But the conditions of peace in this treaty requiring the ceſſion of many rich provinces in France to the crown of England, appeared to this aſſembly too ſevere, and they unanimouſly adviſed the regent to reject it [190]. A.D 1359. Peace rejected by the dauphin.

[189] Mezeray Hiſt. Fran. p. 376. 377, &c. Froiſſart, l. 1. c. 179, 180, 181. 185, 186, 187.

[190] Rymer, t. 6. p. 134. Froiſſart, l. 1. c. 201.

A.D.1359. Expedition into France.

King Edward was greatly incenſed at this reſolution of the regent and eſtates of France, and declared, that ſince they were for war, they ſhould have it in its moſt dreadful forms. The truce which would have expired April 9, had a little before been prolonged to Midſummer [191]. But as that term was approaching, he made great preparations for an invaſion of France. It was October before every thing could be got ready for this grand expedition; and on the 27th of that month Edward arrived at Calais, attended by his four eldeſt ſons, and the flower of the Engliſh nobility, with an army of 100,000 men, in a fleet of 1100 ſhips [192].

Beſieges Rheims in vain.

At the head of this formidable army he marched out of Calais, November 4, and traverſing the provinces of Artois and Picardie, he inveſted the city of Rheims in Champaigne, with a view of being there crowned king of France. But the inhabitants, aſſiſted by ſome noblemen, with their followers, and animated by their archbiſhop, defended the place ſo bravely, that after lying near three months before it in the depth of winter, he found it neceſſary to raiſe the ſiege [193].

A.D.1360. Paris beſieged.

Edward then directed his march towards Paris, plundering the country as he advanced, and having received 100,000 nobles from the duke of Burgundy to ſpare his territories, he arrived before the capital of France on the laſt day of March. During the Eaſter holidays hoſtilities were ſuſpended, and ſome

[191] Rymer, t. 6. p. 121, 122.
[192] Walſing. p. 174. [193] Id. ibid.

propoſals

propoſals for peace were made; but they came to nothing. Having in vain challenged the dauphin, who was in Paris with an army, to come out and fight him, and having alſo made a fruitleſs attempt upon the ſuburbs of that city, he marched off towards Brittany, reſolving to refreſh his army for ſome time in that province, after the ſevere fatigues of a winter campaign, and to return in ſummer to beſiege Paris in form [194]. A.D. 1360.

Peace with France at Bretigny.

The dauphin and his council being deeply affected with the deplorable deſolations of their country, which were increaſed by a freſh defection of the perfidious king of Navarre, and dreading ſtill greater miſeries, became earneſtly deſirous of a peace, which they ſolicited by commiſſioners, who followed Edward in his march towards Brittany. Theſe ſolicitations being ſeconded by the inſtances of the pope's legate, and the wiſe and moderate counſels of the excellent duke of Lancaſter, at length made an impreſſion on the king's heart; and a treaty of peace was concluded at Bretigny, near Chartres, May 8, on the following terms. The king of France ceded to the king of England, beſides the ſuperiority of Guienne and Ponthieu, the earldom of Poictiers, the fief of Thouars, the countries of Poictou, Xaintonge, Agenois, Limouſin, Perigort, Quercy, Bigorre, Gavre, Angoumois, and Rouvergue, with all their cities and caſtles, in full ſovereignty. In the ſame ample and full manner were yielded to England, on the

[194] Froiſſart, l. 1. c. 207. 211. Walſing. p. 173, 174.

other

A.D.1360. other ſide of France, the town, caſtle, and territory of Calais, with the earldom of Guiſnes. The king of France agreed to pay for his ranſom three millions of crowns of gold, at different payments, and to give forty noble hoſtages for ſecurity. The king of France agreed to renounce all alliances and connections with the Scots, and to contract none for the future; and the king of England made the ſame conceſſions with regard to the Flemings. John de Mountfort was to be reſtored to all his poſſeſſions in France; and the diſpute between him and Charles de Blois, about the duchy of Brittany, was to be referred to commiſſioners. This famous treaty contained ſeveral other articles, relating to the time and manner of King John's being ſet at liberty, and of his delivering to king Edward the ſeveral countries, towns and caſtles, and alſo many regulations for the further ſecurity and more effectual execution of the whole. By the twelfth article of this treaty, king Edward renounced all title to the crown and kingdom of France, to the countries of Normandy, Tourain, Anjou, and Main, and to the ſovereignty of Brittany and Flanders.

The king of France ſet at liberty.

As ſoon as Edward had finiſhed this great work of peace, he returned to England, and landed at Rye, May 18 [195]. In the beginning of July he ſent the king of France to Calais, agreeable to an article of the treaty [196]. On October 9, he followed to the ſame place, to finiſh all regulations for the execution of the treaty, to receive the firſt

[195] Rymer, vol. 6. p. 196. [196] Id. ib. p. 198.

payment

payment of the king of France's ranſom, and to ſet that prince at liberty. About the ſame time the dauphin and his council arrived at Boulogne; and after ſome days ſpent in conferences, all particulars were adjuſted, and the treaty of peace ratified by both kings, at Calais, October 24 [197]. The day after, king John was ſet at liberty, and Edward accompanied him about a mile out of Calais, where the two kings took their leave of one another, with the ſtrongeſt expreſſions of mutual affection and regard [198]. On the laſt day of October, king Edward landed at Dover, and was every where received by his ſubjects with the ſtrongeſt demonſtrations of love and admiration. For though the late long war had been very glorious, it had been alſo exceedingly expenſive, and the people of England were tranſported with joy at the return of peace. A.D.1360.

The joy occaſioned by the peace was not a little allayed by the breaking out of a peſtilence, which carried off great multitudes of the common people, and not a few of the nobility, and amongſt others Henry the Good, duke of Lancaſter, one of the moſt virtuous, amiable, and accompliſhed noblemen of that age [199]. A.D.1361. Peſtilence.

The execution of the treaty of peace was attended with great difficulties, chiefly ariſing from the attachment of the noblemen in the ceded countries to their ancient and native princes, and their un- Treaty of peace executed.

[197] Rymer, vol. 6. p. 219—229.
[198] Froiſſart, l. 1. c. 213.
[199] Dugd. Baron. vol. 1. p. 798.

willingneſs

A.D.1361. willingneſs to transfer their allegiance to the king of England [200]. But theſe difficulties were at length in a great meaſure overcome by the perfect honour and integrity of king John, and the great wiſdom and activity of the lord Chandos, appointed by Edward his lieutenant in all theſe countries.

A.D.1362. Edward cedes the conquered countries to the prince of Wales.

King Edward ſoon after fell upon an effectual method of reconciling theſe countries to the Engliſh government, by beſtowing them on his amiable ſon the prince of Wales, who was admired and beloved by the very enemies whom he had ſubdued. Accordingly the prince who had lately married his couſin Jane, daughter and ſole heireſs of Edmund Plantagenet earl of Kent, a lady of great merit and beauty, was created prince of Aquitaine, and had a grant of Guienne, Ponthieu, and all the territories in thoſe parts of France lately yielded to the crown of England, to hold them of that crown by liege homage, and an annual tribute of an ounce of gold [201].

A.D.1363. The prince of Wales takes poſſeſſion of his territories.

The prince of Wales having received the inveſtiture of theſe rich and extenſive territories, reſolved to fix his reſidence at Bourdeaux, and ſpent ſome months in making preparations for his voyage to that capital of his new dominions. He arrived there in February A.D. 1363, with his beautiful princeſs, formerly known by the name of *the Fair Maid of Kent;* and having eſtabliſhed a ſplendid court, his mild and equitable adminiſtration gave univerſal ſatisfaction to his new ſubjects.

[200] Froiſſart, l. 1. c. 214. [201] Rymer, vol. 6. p. 384—390.

By

By an article of the late treaty of peace, as it was finally ſettled at Calais, it was agreed that the formal deeds of renunciation of the ſeveral countries, towns, and other things, given up by the one king to the other, ſhould not be exchanged till after theſe countries, towns, &c. were actually given up. It was expected, that the doing this might require about twelve or thirteen months; and therefore the 30th November 1361 was appointed for exchanging theſe mutual renunciations, and finiſhing this great work of peace [202]. But the difficulties which had ariſen in delivering ſome places to the Engliſh, and diſputes about others, had ſtill prevented the exchange of theſe renunciations, and left this great tranſaction in ſome meaſure incomplete. The dukes of Anjou and Berry, two of king John's ſons, and the duke of Orleans, his brother, with the duke of Bourbon, who remained in England as hoſtages for the payment of that prince's ranſom, pretended, that if they were carried to Calais, and indulged in a little more liberty, they could contribute greatly to remove all difficulties. They were accordingly conveyed to that city, and allowed to go where they pleaſed for four days together at any one time. The duke of Anjou abuſed this indulgence, and made his eſcape into France [203]. A.D. 1363. Duke of Anjou makes his eſcape.

King John, greatly offended at his ſon's diſhonourable conduct, reſolved to come into England to finiſh every thing relative to the peace, by a perſonal treaty with Edward. His miniſters endeavoured King of France arrives in England.

202 Rymer, vol. 6. p. 231, 232. 239. 262.
203 Id. ibid. p. 453—456. Froiſſart, l. 1, c. 218.

A.D.1363. deavoured to diſſuade him from taking this ſtep; but to all their remonſtrances he replied, "That "though honour and good faith ſhould forſake "every other part of the world, they ought ſtill to "be found in the breaſts of princes." He accordingly arrived in England about Chriſtmas A. D. 1363, and was again lodged in the palace of the Savoy.

A.D.1364. Dies in England. It doth not appear that this voyage of king John contributed much to remove the difficulties in the excution of the late treaty of peace. For he fell ſick of a fever at the Savoy, about the middle of March, and died there April 8, A.D. 1364[204].

John de Mountfort obtains the duchy of Brittany. The famous diſpute about the duchy of Brittany, which had ſubſiſted many years, was finally determined by a battle, September 29, near the town of Auray. In this deciſive action, one of the competitors, Charles de Blois, loſt his life; and his rival, John de Mountfort, ſon-in-law to the king of England, obtained the long-conteſted prize. For though this event, ſo pleaſing to Edward, was very mortifying to Charles V. who had lately mounted the throne of France, that wiſe prince ſubmitted to the deciſion of the ſword, and granted John de Mountfort the inveſtiture of Brittany, without any further ſtruggle[205].

A.D.1365. France deſolated by adventurers. The kingdom of France had ſuffered many calamities during the late war; and it was not immediately relieved from them by the peace of Bretigny.

[204] Froiſſart, l. 1. c. 219.
[205] Hiſtoire de Brit. p. 502 Froiſſart, l. 1. c. 226, 227.

This

This was owing to great multitudes of adventurers of different nations, who had ſerved in the armies of France and England. Theſe adventurers, having been long accuſtomed to live by rapine and plunder, when they were diſbanded, were unwilling to return to the arts of civil life; but, forming themſelves into regular bodies, under bold commanders, they ſeized upon ſome towns and caſtles in almoſt every province in France, and from thence plundered the neighbouring countries. They called themſelves *the Companions*, and the bodies into which they were formed *the Companies*. Theſe Companies, in the year 1361, defeated a royal army commanded by John de Bourbon earl of Marche, who was mortally wounded in the action [206]. The pope, who then reſided at Avignon, and dreaded a viſit from theſe lawleſs plunderers, launched his ſpiritual thunders againſt them, and publiſhed a croiſade for their extirpation. But in vain. They ſtill continued to increaſe in number, and to become more daring in their enterpriſes. In the beginning of the year 1366, they amounted to 50,000 men, and cauſed the king of France to tremble on his throne. By an article of the late treaty of peace, both kings had engaged to join their forces for the extirpation of theſe robbers, if it became neceſſary; and Edward was now called upon to fulfil this engagement. In conſequence of this requiſition, he made great preparations for an expedition into France againſt the companies. A.D. 1365.

[206] Froiſſart. l. 1. c. 177, 178. 214, 215.

But

A.D.1365. But the greatneſs of theſe preparations alarmed Charles, who, upon ſecond thoughts, was not very fond of ſeeing the king of England at the head of a great army in the heart of France; and therefore ſent him word that his aſſiſtance was not neceſſary. Edward, greatly offended at this meſſage, deſiſted from his enterpriſe [207].

A.D.1366. Charles endeavours to perſuade them to a croiſade.

What Charles could not do by force, he accompliſhed by policy, and happily delivered his country from thoſe dangerous and deſtructive Companies. He firſt endeavoured to perſuade them to undertake an expedition into the Eaſt for the recovery of the Holy Land; and the pope ſeconded theſe perſuaſions, by promiſing them the pardon of all their ſins, which were neither few nor trifling, and a good place in paradiſe after death. But the companions had too much cunning, and too little religion, to be taken by ſuch a bait.

The Companies dethrone Don Pedro king of Caſtile.

An expedition was ſoon after propoſed, more agreeable to their views and diſpoſitions. Don Pedro king of Caſtile had juſtly merited the name of *Cruel*, by murdering many of his nobility,—one of his natural brothers,—and his queen, Blanche of Bourbon, ſiſter to the queen of France. Henry earl of Traſtamare, another of his natural brothers, fled into France, and ſolicited king Charles to revenge the death of his ſiſter-in-law by dethroning the tyrant. It immediately occurred to Charles, that this would be a proper employment for the Companies; and he directed the brave du Gueſclin

[207] Walſing. p. 178.

to

to enter into a negotiation with them for that purpoſe. Their leaders had ſo high an opinion of the honour and bravery of du Gueſclin, that they agreed to evacuate France, and follow him into Caſtile. Here they met with little or no reſiſtance. The tyrant don Pedro, being abandoned by all the world, fled with his treaſures and family, firſt to Corunna, and afterwards to Bourdeaux; and Henry de Traſtamare was crowned king of Caſtile with univerſal applauſe [208]. A.D. 1366.

Though don Pedro, the dethroned king of Caſtile, was a faithleſs and ſanguinary tyrant, he was not deſtitute of ſpecious and engaging qualities. His ſituation, and that of his family, which conſiſted of three daughters, was affecting; and he paid his court ſo artfully to the prince of Wales, that he unhappily eſpouſed his quarrel, and reſolved to attempt his reſtoration. The Black Prince undertakes to reſtore don Pedro.

This amiable and fortunate prince was the idol of all the military men of his age, who crowded from all countries to his ſtandard. His brother, John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaſter, joined him with a choſen body of men at arms from England. Many Gaſcon lords embarked in the expedition. The companies who were ſtill in Caſtile, being privately invited into his ſervice, deſerted by thouſands, and made their way to Bourdeaux by different routes. Out of all theſe the prince compoſed an army of 30,000 ſelect troops; with which he ſet out on this expedition about Chriſtmas, attend- Marches an army into Spain.

[208] Froiſſart, l. 1. c. 230.

A.D.1366. ed by the kings of Caſtile and Majorca, his brother the duke of Lancaſter, and a ſplendid train of Engliſh and Gaſcon noblemen[300].

A.D.1367. Battle of Najara. Don Henry, againſt whom this expedition was undertaken, was of a character very different from his brother. He was brave, humane, ſincere, and generous; and as much beloved by his ſubjects as the other had been hated. Having made all poſſible preparation for his own defence, he took the field at the head of 40,000 horſe and 60,000 foot, and was ſoon after joined by the brave du Gueſclin, with 4000 men at arms. With this powerful army he advanced to meet the prince of Wales; who having entered Caſtile in the beginning of March, was approaching by eaſy journies. The two armies met on Saturday, April 3, near the town of Najara, where a bloody battle was fought; in which the conduct, valour, and fortune of the prince of Wales prevailed, and the mighty army of don Henry was entirely routed, many thouſands ſlain in the action, and a great multitude taken priſoners. The cruel don Pedro would have put all the priſoners to the ſword; but was reſtrained from this horrid deed by the prince, who even prevailed upon him, with much difficulty, to publiſh a general offer of pardon to all his ſubjects who would return to their obedience. This offer was univerſally accepted, and don Pedro was reſtored to his throne without any further trouble.

[300] Froiſſart, l. 2, c. 231—236.

It

It ſoon appeared that this tyrant was as perfidious and ungrateful as he was cruel; for inſtead of paying the army which had reſtored him to his throne, according to his engagements, he detained them all the ſummer with vain hopes and trifling excuſes. At length the prince of Wales, perceiving that there was nothing to be expected from a monſter devoid of every principle of honour, ſeeing his men daily periſhing by the exceſſive heats, to which they had not been accuſtomed, and finding his own health ſenſibly impaired by the ſame cauſe, left Caſtile, and brought back the ſhattered remains of his victorious army to Bourdeaux [210]. A.D. 1367. Perfidious conduct of Don Pedro.

Nothing could be more glorious to the prince of Wales than his conduct of this Spaniſh expedition; but nothing could be more fatal to him than its conſequences. It ruined his health, and embittered the few remaining years of his life, by a continued ſeries of troubles. He had not only exhauſted his treaſury, by raiſing and paying the army which he had carried into Caſtile, but he had contracted a prodigious load of debt, and had brought back with him 6000 of thoſe dangerous companions, who, for want of pay, began to live by the plundering of his ſubjects. Yet ſuch was the veneration that even theſe lawleſs rioters bore to the perſon of this excellent prince, that at his requeſt they evacuated his territories, and carried their ravages into France. It was not A.D. 1368. Fatal conſequences of the Spaniſh expedition.

[210] Froiſſart, l. 1. c. 237—243.

A.D.1368. ſo eaſy to diſcharge his debts. In order to this, he was unhappily adviſed by the biſhop of Rodez, his chancellor of Guienne, to impoſe, with the conſent of the eſtates, a tax of one livre upon every hearth in his French dominions for five years; which, by a very erroneous computation, it was ſuppoſed would produce 1,200,000 livres annually. To this heavy and unuſual tax, ſome provinces ſubmitted without much reluctance; but ſeveral great lords in Guienne declaimed againſt it with great vehemence, and ſecretly entered into intrigues with the court of France for overturning the Engliſh government, which this tax had rendered unpopular[211].

A.D.1369. Don Pedro put to death. In the mean time the tyrant don Pedro, who, by his perfidy and ingratitude, had involved his protector in ſo many troubles, met with the juſt reward of all his crimes: for Henry de Traſtamare, having made his eſcape from the unfortunate battle of Najara, took ſhelter in the court of his friend and ally the king of Aragon. Here he left his family, and went into France to ſolicit ſuccours, and wait for an opportunity of recovering the crown which he had loſt. As ſoon as he heard of the return of the prince of Wales into Guienne, he collected a ſmall army of about 9000 men, with which he returned into Caſtile, defeated the tyrant, took him priſoner, and put him to death with his own hand[212]. But the deſtruction of the tyrant put no ſtop to the troubles in which

[211] Froiſſart, l. 1, c. 244. [212] Id. ibid. c. 245.

the

the prince of Wales was involved by his unfortunate connection with him. A.D. 1369.

The Gaſcon noblemen did not content themſelves with oppoſing the impoſition of the tax on hearths, in the aſſembly of eſtates; but after that aſſembly broke up, they went to Paris, and implored the protection of king Charles as ſuperior lord of Guienne, though they well knew that he had given up that title in the late treaty of peace. It doth not belong to hiſtorians to determine the ſtability of national characters, and how far the credit of poſterity ought to be affected by the conduct of their anceſtors; but this much is certain, that the French on this occaſion diſcovered the moſt profligate contempt of the moſt ſolemn oaths and treaties, and a total diſregard to honour and good faith. For though Charles had given up, in the ſtrongeſt terms that could be deviſed, all right to the ſovereignty of Guienne, and the other territories ceded to the crown of England by the treaty of Bretigny, he acted as if he had never heard of ſuch a treaty, and ſummoned the prince of Wales to appear before the court of peers at Paris on May 1. The prince, equally ſurpriſed and provoked at this ſummons, replied, that he would come to Paris at the head of 60,000 men; a threat which his declining ſtate of health never permitted him to execute [213]. Perfidious conduct of the French.

Charles having taken this bold ſtep, to which he was encouraged by the advanced age of the King of France prepares for war.

[213] Froiſſart, t. 1. ch. 246, 247, 248.

A.D.1369. king of England, and the ill health of his heroic ſon, ſecretly prepared for war; and truſting more to policy than force, he ſet intrigues on foot in every province of the Engliſh dominions in France. Theſe intrigues, favoured by the diſcontents of the people occaſioned by the late tax, by their affection for their ancient ſovereigns, and by the influence of the clergy, were but too ſucceſsful [214].

Edward reſumes the arms of France.

Edward laid an account of theſe unexpected events before his parliament, which met June 3, and by their advice reſumed the title and arms of king of France [215]. This parliament alſo granted him a high duty on wool, wool-fells, and leather, to enable him to proſecute the approaching war with vigour.

War with France.

About this time the effect of the French intrigues appeared by the revolt of ſeveral towns in Ponthieu, Guienne, and other provinces, and by a viſible tendency in others to imitate their example. War being now declared, both parties took the field, and there followed a variety of ſkirmiſhes, captures, and ſurpriſes of towns and caſtles, which it would be tedious to relate minutely [216]. Though the king of France had collected a prodigious ſum of money, under the pretence of paying his father's ranſom, and had ſecretly made great preparations for this war, which he had long meditated, yet for ſome time his arms made little progreſs.

[214] Froiſſart, t. 1. c. 246, 247, 248. [215] Rymer, vol. 6. p. 621.
[216] Froiſſart, l. 1. c. 250—277.

But

But the brave John lord Chandos being killed in a ſkirmiſh on January 1, A. D. 1370, and the health of the prince of Wales ſo much impaired that he could no longer mount on horſeback, and appear at the head of his troops, the fortune of the war began to change, and the French took ſeveral places of ſtrength, and had others betrayed into their hands[217]. Among theſe laſt was the city of Limoges, which, at the inſtigation of its biſhop, revolted and admitted a French garriſon. A.D. 1370. Succeſſes of the French.

The prince of Wales, greatly incenſed at the loſs of this place, which he had fortified at a great expence, ſent the inhabitants a ſummons to return to their duty and expel the French garriſon, threatening to raze their city to the ground, after putting them all to the ſword, if they did not obey. But the people of Limoges treated this ſummons with the moſt inſolent contempt. The prince collecting a body of troops, and getting into a litter, being unable to ride, conducted them to Limoges, and inveſted the place. Senſible of its great ſtrength, he did not attempt to take it by aſſault; but having made a breach in the walls, by undermining them, he entered by the breach, and put the whole garriſon, and 3000 of the inhabitants, to the ſword. It was with ſome difficulty he was prevailed upon to ſpare the life of the biſhop, who had been the cauſe of all this miſchief, by acting a part ſo contrary to his oaths, and inconſiſtent with his function[218]. Prince of Wales takes Limoges.

[217] Froiſſart, l. 1. c. 277, &c.
[218] Id. ibid. c. 287. Walſing. p. 185.

A.D.1370. Prince of Wales reſigns his command.

The taking of Limoges is chiefly memorable on this account, that it was the laſt military exploit of the prince of Wales; who finding himſelf unable any longer to endure the fatigues of war, retired to Bourdeaux, and reſigned the command of the Engliſh armies in France to his brother John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaſter, who had lately, together with the earls of Pembroke and Cambridge, come from England with a reinforcement [219].

A.D.1371. Prince of Wales arrives in England.

The prince of Wales, finding his ſtrength daily declining, yielded to the advice of his phyſicians, who encouraged him to hope that his native air would contribute to his recovery. Having held an aſſembly of all the loyal barons of his French dominions at Bourdeaux, and engaged them to promiſe obedience to his brother the duke of Lancaſter, he embarked for England in the month of January, A. D. 1371, with his princeſs, and only ſurviving ſon Richard, and landed at Southampton [220].

Marriages.

John of Gaunt duke of Lancaſter, being now a widower, married the princeſs Conſtantia, eldeſt daughter of the late don Pedro king of Caſtile, and his brother Edmund earl of Cambridge married her ſiſter the princeſs Iſabella. The duke of Lancaſter, immediately after his marriage, aſſumed the title of *king of Caſtile*, and thereby rendered Henry de Traſtamare, who wore that crown, a violent and dangerous enemy to England [221].

[219] Froiſſart, l. 1. c. 287. Walſing. p. 185.
[220] Froiſſart, l. 1. c. 293. [221] Id. ibid. c. 300.

The

The military events of this year were very fatal to the Engliſh intereſt on the continent. The duke of Lancaſter having returned to England with his royal bride, the earl of Pembroke was appointed commander in chief of the Engliſh forces in the principality of Aquitaine, and was ſent thither with a fleet of forty ſhips, containing a reinforcement of troops and a ſupply of money. The earl deſigned to land his forces at Rochelle; but when he approached that place, June 23, he fell in with a powerful ſquadron belonging to don Henry, king of Caſtile, who had warmly eſpouſed the cauſe of France. An engagement immediately commenced, which continued all that day, and was renewed next morning with equal fury. At length, towards the evening of the ſecond day, victory declared in favour of the Spaniards, whoſe ſhips were much larger than thoſe of the Engliſh, and provided with cannon, which did great execution. The earl of Pembroke, with ſeveral other chieftains were made priſoners, and the greateſt part of the fleet either taken or ſunk.[222] A.D. 1372. Engliſh fleet defeated.

By this diſaſter, Ponthieu, Guienne, and the other Engliſh provinces in theſe parts, were left an eaſy prey to the conſtable du Gueſclin, who fell into them with a great army, and took many places of ſtrength without any reſiſtance, and others with very little. The city of Rochelle was betrayed to the French by its mayor, and Thouars capitulated to ſurrender at Michaelmas, if it was Loſſes of the Engliſh.

[222] Froiſſart, l. 1. c. 302, 303, 304.

not

A.D.1372. not relieved before that time by the king of England, or one of his ſons [223].

Edward attempts to relieve Thouars.

On hearing of this capitulation, Edward put himſelf at the head of an army which he had provided for invading France on the ſide of Picardie, with which he embarked Auguſt 30, and ſailed to relieve Thouars, and recover his other loſſes in thoſe parts. But that wonderful gale of proſperity which had ſo long favoured this prince in all his undertakings, had now forſaken him. After contending nine weeks at ſea, with contrary winds, he was obliged to return with his fleet to England; and Thouars ſurrendered, according to the capitulation [224]. The miſcarriage of this expedition was followed by the loſs of all Ponthieu, except a few places.

A parliament.

Edward after his return held a parliament, which met at Weſtminſter November 3, and continued the additional duty on wool, wool-fells, and leather, for two years longer, beſides granting the king a fifteenth [225]. Thus the Engliſh were at as great expence in loſing, as they had been at in gaining, their French dominions.

A.D.1373. John de Mountfort abandons Brittany.

The conſtable du Gueſclin finiſhed the conqueſt of Ponthieu; and Xaintonge in the beginning of this year [226]. As the allies of England had reaped great advantages from her former victories, ſome of them were now involved in her misfortunes; particularly John de Mountfort duke of Brittany.

[223] Froiſſart, l. 1. c. 307—311. [224] Id. ibid. c. 311.
[225] Parliament. Hiſt. vol. 1. p. 312. [226] Froiſſart, l. 1. c. 312.

This

This prince being ſon-in-law to king Edward, and ſenſible that he owed his dominions to his protection, was a zealous friend and favourer of the Engliſh. Charles king of France, well knowing his inclinations, confiſcated the duchy of Brittany, and ſent the conſtable du Gueſclin with an army to take poſſeſſion of it. That general met with little reſiſtance, many towns opening their gates at the firſt ſummons; and the duke, afraid of being betrayed into the hands of the French, retired into England, leaving the brave ſir Robert Knolles his lieutenant in Brittany [227]. A.D. 1373.

Edward, reſolving to make another great effort for the recovery and preſervation of his French dominions, appointed his ſon John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaſter, his lieutenant in the kingdom of France and principality of Aquitaine, and ſent him with an army to Calais. The duke marched from Calais, July 20, at the head of 30,000 men; and having ravaged the provinces of Artois and Picardie, he purſued his route through Champagne, Burgundy, Beaujolois, Farez, Auvergne, into Guienne, and arrived at Bourdeaux about Chriſtmas, with the ſhattered remains of his army, without having beſieged one town or fought one battle [228]. Duke of Lancaſter's expedition into France.

Conferences for a truce or peace between the kings of France and England had been lately opened at Bruges, under the mediation of the A.D. 1374.

227 Froiſſart, l. 2. c. 314.

228 Walſing. p. 187. Froiſſart, l. 2. c. 316, 317.

pope.

A.D.1374. pope. After ſome time had been ſpent in theſe conferences, a truce was concluded, February 11, to continue to Eaſter; and this truce was afterwards prolonged to May 1, in the following year [229]. This truce was but ill obſerved by the duke of Anjou, who had long before violated his parole of honour to king Edward, and now reduced the greateſt part of Guienne before the expiration of the truce. Thus Edward had the mortification to ſee himſelf deprived of all his conqueſts in France (except Calais), the fruits of the glorious victories of Crecy and Poictiers, rather by the perfidy than the valour of his enemies, and his own imprudent confidence in their honour and good faith.

A.D.1375. The conferences for a peace ſtill continued at Bruges, and the truce, by ſeveral prolongations, was extended to April 1, 1377 [230]. The duchy of Brittany was not comprehended in the firſt truces; and John de Mountfort having returned from England with ſome troops, recovered a conſiderable part of his dominions. But a ſtop was put to this career of ſucceſs, by his being included in the laſt truce, to which he ſubmitted [231].

A.D.1376. Though a long truce was now concluded, and negotiations for a peace were carried on, there was little proſpect of their ſucceſs; and it was expected that the war would be renewed as ſoon as the truce expired. To be prepared for this event, Edward

Parliament.

[229] Rymer, vol. 7. p. 51—57.
[230] Rymer, vol. 7. p. 68—92.
[231] D'Argentré Hiſt. de Brit. l. 8. c. 20.

ſummoned

ſummoned a parliament to meet at Weſtminſter April 28, and demanded a ſupply for carrying on the war with France. The parliament continued the high duty on wool, wool-fells, and leather, for three years longer, and promiſed a further aid if it ſhould be found neceſſary [232]. But it ſoon appeared that this aſſembly was far from being pleaſed with the late management of public affairs, and the conduct of thoſe who now poſſeſſed the higheſt place in the king's favour. In conſequence of their complaints, the lord Latimer, and ſeveral other perſons of inferior note, were impriſoned for embezzling the public treaſure, and other miſdemeanors. Though this was an age of chivalry, in which the adoration of the fair ſex was carried to the moſt extravagant height, yet a lady fell under the cenſures of this parliament. This was the famous Alice Perrers, for whom Edward, after the death of his excellent queen Philippa, had contracted an affection. This lady being of a covetous diſpoſition, very much abuſed the fondneſs of her royal lover, and is ſaid to have carried her effrontery ſo far as to ſit on the bench, and dictate to the judges. At the requeſt of the commons, ſhe was baniſhed from court, but ſoon after recalled [233]. A.D. 1376.

While this parliament was ſetting, the nation ſuſtained an irreparable loſs, by the death of Edward prince of Wales, better known to poſterity Death of the prince of Wales.

[232] Parliament. Hiſt. vol. 1. p. 319.
[233] Walſing. p. 189. Barnes, p. 880—882.

by

A.D.1376. by the name of the *Black Prince*. This excellent prince, after languiſhing ſeveral years under a lingering diſeaſe, which he had contracted in Spain, was in the laſt ſtage of it ſeized with a fever, of which he died in the palace of Weſtminſter June 8, in the 46th year of his age. Thought this event had been long expected, and though all the fruits of his glorious victories were already loſt and gone, there never was a more ſincere and univerſal mourning than on this occaſion. The character of this prince was a happy mixture of great and good qualities, which formed the illuſtrious hero and the amiable man, and rendered him at once the object of univerſal love and admiration. His death is thought to have ſhortened the days of his royal father, and broke the heart of that renowned warrior John de Grielly, captal de Buche, who refuſed all nouriſhment, and was impatient to follow his beloved maſter to the grave. The parliament, though in no very good humour, diſcovered the deepeſt concern for his death, and the higheſt veneration for his memory, by attending his remains to the cathedral of Canterbury, where he was buried, and by petitioning the king to introduce his only ſurviving ſon, Richard of Bourdeaux, then a youth of ten years and five months old, into their aſſembly, that they might have the pleaſure of beholding this only repreſentative of their beloved prince, and of paying their duty to him as heir-apparent to the crown. At the requeſt of both houſes Richard was created prince of Wales, and inveſted

inveſted with all his father's honours and poſſeſ- A.D.1376.
ſions [234].

As the truce with France was now drawing to- A.D.1377.
wards an end, and as all endeavours to bring about Parliament.
a peace had proved abortive, nothing was expected but the renewal of the war. To provide for this event, a parliament met on January 27, at Weſtminſter, which was opened by Richard prince of Wales, by commiſſion from the king, then indiſpoſed. The commons, after ſome deliberation, and conferring with a committee of the lords, granted the king a poll-tax of fourpence from every perſon in the kingdom above fourteen years of age, except beggars [235]. There ſeems to have been a perfect harmony between the king and this his laſt parliament, which petitioned him to releaſe the lord Latimer, Alice Perrers, and others, from the cenſures inflicted upon them by the late parliament, and to reſtore them to their former ſtate [236].

Edward finding, from the declining ſtate of his Death of Edward III.
health, that his death was faſt approaching, was earneſtly deſirous of making peace with France, that he might not leave his infant ſucceſſor involved in a war with ſo powerful an enemy. But the ſame circumſtances rendered the French ſo high in their demands, that, though commiſſioners had been appointed to treat of peace, nothing could be concluded before king Edward's death, which

234 Froiſſart. l. 1. c. 224, 225. Walſing. p. 190.
235 Parliament. Hiſt. vol. 1. p. 318.
236 Id. ibid. p. 328.

happened

A.D. 1377. happened at his palace of Shene, June 1, in the ſixty-fifth year of his age, and the fifty-firſt of his reign [237].

Character of Edward. Edward III. was in his perſon well ſhaped, tall, ſtrong, and active; his countenance was comely, his air majeſtic, and his addreſs engaging. He much excelled and greatly delighted in the manly exerciſes of thoſe times, particularly tournaments, which were often celebrated at his court with great magnificence. His genius, both for learning, politics, and war, was far above the common rate. He underſtood ſeveral languages, and was well verſed in the learning of his time, as well as a munificent patron of learning and learned men. He diſcovered great prudence in the conduct of his affairs, the management of his parliaments, and the many wiſe laws which were made in his reign for the advancement of arts and commerce; though he was ſhamefully outwitted by Charles king of France, and his brothers, rather through their total want of faith and honour, than his want of policy. His almoſt conſtant ſucceſs in war, while he appeared at the head of his armies, is a ſufficient proof of his military talents [238]. If we examine his wars with France and Scotland by the ſtrict rules of morality, they will not appear very juſtifiable; and if we judge of them by their final iſſue, they were not very profitable. For though he inflicted infinite miſchiefs on both theſe king-

[237] Rymer, vol. 7. p. 151.
[238] Anonymi Hiſt. Ed. III. p. 451. Walſing. p. 192, 193.

doms,

doms, and raiſed the martial fame of England to the higheſt pitch, it was at a prodigious expence of blood and treaſure; and he made no laſting conqueſts, except Calais and Berwick. The ambition of this prince, which hath gained him the greateſt fame, was in reality the moſt exceptionable part of his character, which was adorned with many ſhining virtues. He was a rare example of human felicity, having for more than forty years enjoyed a very uncommon degree of happineſs in his family, and of ſucceſs in all his undertakings. A.D. 1377.

Edward's only queen was Philippa of Hainault; with whom he lived in the moſt perfect conjugal harmony above two and forty years, and by whom he had ſeven ſons and five daughters, viz. His iſſue.

1. Edward of Woodſtock, commonly called the *Black Prince*, from the colour of his armour; the darling of his royal parents, was born at Woodſtock June 15, A. D. 1330[239]; married to his couſin Jane, the Fair Maid of Kent, in 1361; by whom he left an only ſon, named Richard, who ſucceeded his grandfather in the throne[240].

2. William of Halfield, born 1336; died young[241].

3. Lionel of Antwerp, duke of Clarence, born November 29, 1338[242]; was married, firſt, to Eliſabeth de Burgh, heireſs of Ulſter; by whom he

239 Walſingham, p. 130.
240 Sandford's Geneal. Hiſt. p. 215, &c.
241 Ypod. Neuſt. f. 512. 242 Sandford, p. 222.

A.D.1377. left one daughter, Philippa, married to Edmund Mortimer, earl of Marche. For his ſecond wife, the duke of Clarence married Violante, daughter of the duke of Milan; by whom he had no children. He died in Italy, in 1368 [243].

4. John of Gaunt, born in 1340; was married, firſt, in 1359, to Blanche, one of the daughters and coheireſſes of Henry the Good, duke of Lancaſter (after whoſe death he was created duke of Lancaſter); by whom he left a ſon, named Henry, ſucceſſively earl of Derby, duke of Hereford and Lancaſter, and king of England, by the name of Henry IV [244]. For his ſecond wife, John of Gaunt married Conſtantia, eldeſt daughter of don Pedro king of Caſtile; in whoſe right he aſſumed that title; and by whom he had a daughter, afterwards queen of Caſtile. For his third wife he married Catharine Swinford; by whom he had ſeveral children.

5. Edmund of Langley, born in 1341; created earl of Cambridge in 1362, and duke of York in 1384; married Iſabella, youngeſt daughter of don Pedro king of Caſtile; by whom he had Edward, his eldeſt ſon, who died without iſſue; and Richard earl of Cambridge; who marrying his couſin Anne Mortimer, heireſs of the houſe of Clarence, had Richard duke of York, who was father of Edward IV. king of England [245].

[243] Sandford, p. 219. 222. 225. [244] Walſing. p. 148.
[245] Ypod. Neuſt. f. 514. Sandford, p. 357, 358. 360. 365.

6. Wil-

6. William of Windſor, who died in his infancy [246]. A.D. 1377.

7. Thomas of Woodſtock, duke of Glouceſter, and Conſtable of England [247].

The daughters of king Edward and his queen Philippa were, 1. Iſabel, married in 1365 to Enguerrand de Coucy, created duke of Bedford; 2. Joan, contracted to don Pedro king of Caſtile, but died of the plague at Bourdeaux, in 1349, before marriage [248]; 3. Blanche, who died in her infancy; 4. Mary ducheſs of Brittany; 5. Margaret counteſs of Pembroke, who died without iſſue.

DAVID BRUCE, king of Scotland, who was taken priſoner at the battle of Durham, October 17, A. D. 1346, continued in captivity no leſs than eleven years, though various negotiations were ſet on foot for procuring his deliverance [249]. He was permitted to pay a viſit to his dominions, A. D. 1351, upon giving hoſtages, and making oath to return into cuſtody when required [250]. This relaxation in his confinement (which had been very ſtrict) was probably granted to promote the ſucceſs of a private agreement which he had made with the king of England, by procuring the conſent of his ſubjects to that agreement. The nature of this ſecret treaty between the two kings is not known; History of Scotland.

246 Sandford, p. 178. 247 Id. p. 227.
248 Rymer, vol. 5. p. 422. 425, 426, 427, 428, &c.
249 Rymeri Fœd. t. 5. p. 618. 686. 699, 700.
250 Id. ibid. p. 711. 722. 724. 727.

A.D.1351. but it is believed to have been unfavourable to the independency of Scotland; and David having failed in his attempts to procure its confirmation, returned into confinement, A. D. 1352[251]. After long conferences, a treaty for the liberation of David, and a truce of nine years, was concluded at Newcaſtle, 13th July A. D. 1354, ratified by the commiſſioners of Scotland 12th November, and by the king of England and the prince of Wales 5th December[252]. But the effect of this treaty was prevented by the intrigues of the king of France; who, by ſending a body of ſoldiers, and a ſum of money into Scotland, prevailed upon the Scots to continue the war; and they had the good fortune to defeat ſir Thomas Gray, keeper of Norham caſtle, in October, and to take the town of Berwick in November, A. D. 1355[253]. But they did not long enjoy this conqueſt; for Edward having inveſted the town with a great army, it was ſurrendered by capitulation 13th January A. D. 1356[254].

A.D.1356. Expedition of Edward III. into Scotland.

Edward, having recovered Berwick, and obtained a formal ſurrender of the crown and kingdom of Scotland from his wretched tool Edward Baliol (January 20), marched at the head of a great army into Lothian, attended by a fleet of victuallers in the Forth. But the Scots having removed all their cattle and proviſions, and the Engliſh fleet

[251] Rymeri Fœd. t. 5. p. 737. 746. Fordun, l. 14. c. 15.
[252] Rymeri Fœd. t. 5. p. 793. 812.
[253] Fordun, l. 14. c. 9, 10.
[254] Fordun, l. 14. c. 12. Rymer. Fœd. t. 5. p. 828.

having

having been diſperſed by a ſtorm, he found it impoſſible to proceed any further than to Edinburgh. His troops were haraſſed in their retreat by flying parties of the Scots, which provoked him to deſtroy the country with fire and ſword, not ſparing the moſt magnificent churches [255]. This expedition was long remembered in Scotland by the name of *The burnt Candlemas*. A.D. 1356.

King of Scots ranſomed.

Edward, convinced of the difficulty of ſubduing Scotland, began to thing ſeriouſly of making peace with that country, and of procuring as great a ranſom as he could for its king, who was ſtill his priſoner. With this view he appointed William de Bohun earl of Northampton, and others, his commiſſioners, to treat with the prelates, nobles, and people, of Scotland, about the redemption of David Bruce, and a perpetual peace between the two kingdoms [256]. The parliament of Scotland (17th January A. D. 1357) named four commiſſioners, two biſhops, and two barons, to treat with thoſe of England [257]. That the conferences might not be interrupted by hoſtilities, a truce for ſix months was concluded 8th May [258]. The commiſſioners of both kingdoms met at Berwick, to which place the captive king was alſo conducted [259]. The chief difficulty in this negotiation was, to ſettle the ranſom to be paid by the Scots for the redemption of their king. The Engliſh demanded

[255] Fordun, l. 14. c. 13.
[256] Rymeri Fœd. t. 5. p. 847.
[257] Id. ibid. p. 831.
[258] Id. ibid. t. 6. p. 15.
[259] Id. ibid. p. 31.

A.D.1357. 100,000 marks, an exorbitant ſum in thoſe times, containing as much ſilver as 200,000l. of our money, and more difficult to raiſe than a million would be at preſent. As no abatement of this demand could be obtained, the commiſſioners, and alſo the parliament of Scotland, engaged to pay it in ten years, by equal payments of 10,000 marks each year; and to give twenty young men of quality hoſtages, for ſecurity[260]. By one article it was provided, that the truce between the two kingdoms ſhould continue till the ranſom was paid. In conſequence of this treaty the king of Scots was ſet at liberty, in October A. D. 1367.

Treaties. The fatal expedition into England, A. D. 1346, which had involved the king and people of Scotland in ſo many calamities, had been undertaken at the inſtigation of France; and therefore the Scots very properly applied to France to aſſiſt them in paying the heavy ranſom of their king. This application was at firſt eluded by excuſes; but the French being ſtill at war with England, and ſtanding in need of the aid of their ancient allies, a treaty was concluded, April A. D. 1360, in which the French engaged to pay the Scots 50,000 marks, and the Scots engaged to renew the war with England[261]. But this treaty was never executed: for by an article of the famous treaty of peace between the French and Engliſh at Bretigny, concluded only about a month after, the

[260] Rymer. Fœd. t. 6. p. 46—52.

[261] Annals of Scotland, vol. 2. p. 246, 247, 248.

king

king of France renounced every alliance with Scotland, and engaged, for himself and his ſucceſſors, never to make any new alliance with that kingdom[262]. In this manner do great kings ſometimes trifle with their engagements. A.D. 1360.

After Scotland had been long involved in the calamities of war, it was viſited by a deſtructive peſtilence, A. D. 1361, which raged a whole year, and is ſaid to have carried off about one third of the inhabitants[263]. Johanna queen of Scotland, ſiſter of Edward III. died in England, A. D. 1362[264]. Peſtilence.

King David Bruce paid frequent viſits to England after he recovered his liberty, and was engaged in certain ſecret intrigues with that court, to defeat the ſucceſſion of his nephew Robert the Stewart, who had been regent of the kingdom during his captivity. After his return from one of theſe viſits, A. D. 1363, he made a propoſal to his parliament at Scone, That if he died without iſſue, they ſhould chuſe Lionel duke of Clarence, the ſecond ſon of Edward III. to be their king. This propoſal was unanimouſly rejected with ſcorn and indignation by the parliament, who declared, That they would never permit an Engliſhman to reign over them; but would ſupport the ſettlement of the crown, which had been made by parliament on the Stewart and his family[265]. David was not deterred by this Intrigues to defeat the ſucceſſion of Robert the Stewart.

[262] Rymeri Fœd. t. 6. p. 178—196.
[263] Fordun, l. 14. c. 24, 25.
[264] Walſing. p. 179.
[265] Fordun, l. 14. c. 25.

A.D. 1363. reſolute anſwer, or even by the civil commotions which his propoſal had occaſioned, from purſuing his pernicious ſchemes: for on his return to England he made an agreement with Edward, that he, or the king of England for the time being, ſhould ſucceed to the crown of Scotland, on the death of David without iſſue; and a plan was formed for regulating the government when that event took place[266]. But it was ſoon found, that theſe dark intrigues and private conventions could have no effect, while the Scots were unanimouſly determined to defend their independency; and therefore they were kept ſecret.

Marriage and death of David II. David Bruce, being now a widower, fell in love with and married Margaret Logie, a gentlewoman of ſingular beauty. For ſome time the influence of this lady over her amorous huſband was very great; but it was not of long duration; and they were divorced in February A. D. 1370[267]. David did not long ſurvive this event. He died in the caſtle of Edinburgh, 22d February A. D. 1371, in the forty-ſeventh year of his age, and forty-ſecond of his reign[268].

Character. David II. though not defective in perſonal courage, was a weak, capricious, and unfortunate prince, having ſpent about one half of his reign in exile or in captivity. The veneration of the Scots for the memory of their illuſtrious deliverer, Robert

[266] Rymeri Fœd. t. 6. p. 426, 427. Annals of Scotland, vol. 2. p. 253, &c.

[267] Fordun, l. 14. c. 28, 34. [268] Id. ibid.

Bruce,

Bruce, kept them ſteady in their attachment to his only ſon, in ſpite of all his failings. He was ſucceeded by his nephew Robert the Stewart, the firſt of that family who wore a crown. A.D. 1371.

SECTION V.

The civil and military hiſtory of Britain, from the acceſſion of Richard II. *June* 21, A. D. 1377, *to the acceſſion of Henry* IV. *September* 30, A. D. 1399.

RICHARD II. was in the 11th year of his age, when he ſucceeded his grandfather Edward III. on the throne of England. His tender years, the exquiſite beauty of his perſon, and the remembrance of his beloved father the Black Prince, greatly endeared him to his ſubjects, who expreſſed the higheſt ſatisfaction at his acceſſion. When king Edward lay at the point of death, the citizens of London ſent a ſolemn deputation to the prince, then at Kingſton upon Thames, to profeſs their attachment to his intereſt, and invite him to take up his reſidence in their city; with which invitation he complied. He was crowned at Weſtminſter, July 16, with great magnificence, and every poſſible expreſſion of univerſal joy [1]. A.D. 1377. Acceſſion of Richard II.

[1] Walſing. p. 193. Rymer, vol. 7. p. 157—160.

But

A.D.1377. But notwithſtanding all theſe fair appearances, the affairs of England were not in a very happy ſituation at this time. The young king being incapable of holding the reins of government, was wholly under the direction of his three uncles, John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaſter, Edmund of Langley earl of Cambridge, afterwards duke of York, and Thomas of Woodſtock, earl of Buckingham, afterwards duke of Glouceſter. The duke of Lancaſter, who bore the chief ſway, was proud, paſſionate, and unpopular, and very unfit for the difficult part he had to act. The nation was involved in an unfortunate war with France, for which no preparation was made, and was alſo on ill terms with Spain and Scotland; and the commons were greatly diſcontented at the continual demands which had been lately made upon them for the ſupport of the French war. The ill effects of theſe unfavourable circumſtances ſoon appeared.

Unfavourable ſtate of England.

War with France. The truce with France having expired May 1, the war was renewed; and the French had ſent armies into Guienne, Brittany, and the marches of Calais, where they had taken two forts before the late king's death. In Auguſt, a body of French plundered the iſle of Wight, burnt the town of Haſtings, and made attempts upon Winchelſey and Southampton, though without ſucceſs [a].

Parliament. To provide for repelling theſe inſults, and proſecuting the war with vigour, a parliament was

[a] Walſing. p. 198, 199. Froiſſart, l. 1. c. 347.

ſummoned

ſummoned to meet at Weſtminſter, October 13. A.D.1377.
The houſe of commons, after conſulting with a committee of lords, granted two fifteenths from the counties, and two tenths from the cities and boroughs, to be paid into the hands of John Philpot, and W. Walworth, merchants in London, and appropriated to the expences of the war, together with the ſubſidy on wool. Through the influence of the king's uncles in this parliament, the famous Alice Perrers was ſentenced to baniſhment, and her eſtates confiſcated. No regent nor regency was appointed; but by the aſſent of the king and lords to a petition of the commons, a council of nine perſons was choſen, to adviſe and aſſiſt the king in the adminiſtration of government for one year, and a like council ordained to be choſen every year, by parliament, during the king's minority[3]. This method was probably taken out of jealouſy of the duke of Lancaſter, who had the beſt claim to the regency, if a regent had been appointed.

The war between England and France was not A.D.1378. Progreſs of the war.
carried on with much vigour on either ſide, nor did it produce many events worthy of the attention of poſterity. One Mercer, a Scotchman, infeſted the north-eaſt coaſts of England with a ſmall fleet, and ſeized ſome ſhips in the port of Scarborough; but John Philpot of London fitted out ſome ſhips at his own expence, with which he engaged Mercer, defeated, and took him priſoner[4].

[3] Parliament. Hiſt. vol. 1. p. 335—344. [4] Walſing. p. 211.

The

A.D.1378. Duke of Lancaſter's expedition into France.

The duke of Lancaſter, though not directly regent, had an almoſt unbounded influence over the council of adminiſtration; and prevailed with them to give him the diſpoſal of the money ariſing from the late parliamentary grants, promiſing not only to protect the kingdom from all its enemies, but alſo to perform ſome notable exploit for its honour and advantage. To perform this promiſe, he raiſed an army and equipped a fleet for invading France. Before the grand fleet was ready to ſail, he ſent the earls of Arundel and Saliſbury, with a few ſhips and ſome troops, to take poſſeſſion of Cherburg, which was ceded to England by the king of Navarre. The two earls had an engagement on their paſſage with a Spaniſh fleet, in which they ſuſtained ſome loſs, though they afterwards executed their commiſſion. About the end of July the duke ſailed with a gallant fleet and army; and, landing in Brittany, inveſted St. Malo. The conſtable du Gueſclin haſtened with an army to the relief of the place; and the duke, finding it would be impoſſible to take the town in the preſence of the enemy, raiſed the ſiege, and returned home, without having performed any thing worthy of his mighty promiſes and great expences [5].

War with Scotland.

A party of about eighty Scots, commanded by ſir Alexander Ramſay, ſurpriſed the caſtle of Berwick on November 25; but it was ſoon after recovered by the earl of Northumberland, and all the Scots, except their leader, put to the ſword.

5 Walſing. p. 200. 210. 213. Froiſſart, l. 1. c. 329.

After

After this the earl marched into Scotland; but a part of his army being defeated near Melroſe, he diſmiſſed the reſt, and put an end to the campaign [6]. A.D. 1378.

A parliament met at Glouceſter, October 20, to which it was repreſented, that the king was at a great expence in maintaining the garriſons of Calais, Cherburg, Breſt, Bourdeaux, and Bayonne, and in defending the kingdom from its numerous enemies; and a ſupply was demanded for defraying theſe expences. The houſe of commons diſcovered an extreme unwillingneſs to comply with this demand; alleging, that there muſt be a great part of the money granted by the laſt parliament ſtill in the treaſury; that the king's ordinary revenues were ſufficient, with good management, for anſwering all theſe purpoſes; and that the people of England had nothing to do with the great charge of 46,000l. for maintaining the garriſons in France. But at length, by the earneſt and repeated entreaties of the lords, the commons were prevailed upon to continue the high duty on wool, wool-fells, and leather, and even to grant an additional duty of one mark on every ſack of wool, and every two hundred and forty wool-fells, and two marks on every laſt of leather, beſides 6d. in the pound on all merchandiſe exported and imported [7]. Parliament.

[6] Froiſſart, t. 2. c. 7—10. Walſing. p. 219.

[7] Carte, vol. 2. p. 547. ex Rot. Parliament. Walſing. p. 215. Parliament. Hiſt. vol. 1. p. 348—355.

The

A.D. 1379. Revolution in Brittany.

The late unſucceſsful expedition of the duke of Lancaſter into Brittany, was followed by the loſs of all that duchy, except Breſt, which was put into the hands of the Engliſh by John de Mountfort duke of Brittany, for an eſtate in England, where he reſided with very little hopes of ever being reſtored to his dominions [8]. The conqueſt of this country appeared ſo complete to Charles V. king of France, that by a ſolemn ſentence he annexed the duchy of Brittany to the kingdom of France for ever [9]. But ſo uncertain are the principles of human policy, that this ſentence, calculated to extinguiſh the laſt hopes of John de Mountfort, was the means of reſtoring him to the poſſeſſion of his country in a very little time. For though the people of Brittany diſliked their duke for his inviolable attachment to England, and on that account had aſſiſted the French in expelling him, there was nothing in the world they dreaded ſo much as the ſubjection of their country to the crown of France. In order to avoid this, they ſent repeated invitations to Mountfort to return into Brittany, promiſing to receive him as their ſovereign, and to ſupport him with the utmoſt zeal and loyalty. Being at length convinced of their ſincerity, he ſailed from Southampton, and landing near St. Malo, Auguſt 3, with a few troops, he was every where received with the loudeſt acclamations of joy, and got poſſeſſion of the chief places of his dominions [10].

[8] Rymer, vol. 7. p. 190—195. [9] D'Argentré Hiſt. Brit. l. 9. c. 3.
[10] Walſing. p. 225. Froiſſart, t. 2. ch. 44.

Though

Though the events of the war with France, Caſtile, and Scotland, were not very memorable; the expences of it, and of the foreign garriſons, were very great, and occaſioned frequent applications to parliament. One was ſummoned to meet at Weſtminſter January 14, A. D. 1380, which, after appointing commiſſioners to examine into every branch of the adminiſtration, granted one fifteenth and a half from the counties, and one tenth and a half from the cities and boroughs; and continued the high duties on wool, wool-fells, and leather, for another year after Michaelmas next, when they were to have expired[11]. Having thus provided for the public expences, they requeſted that there might be no meeting of parliament for one year after Michaelmas next. A.D. 1380.

Though the people of Brittany had received their duke with great cordiality, he ſoon found that it would be impoſſible for him to contend with the ſuperior power of France without aſſiſtance from England, which he ſolicited with much earneſtneſs. A great army was raiſed and ſent to his relief, under the command of the king's uncle, Thomas earl of Buckingham; which, marching from Calais in the end of July, paſſed through Picardie, Champagne, and other provinces of France, plundering the country, without meeting with any oppoſition[12]. Expedition into Brittany.

As this army approached the confines of Brittany, they received the news of the death of the Death of Charles V.

[11] Parliament. Hiſt. vol. 1. p. 355—357.
[12] Froiſſart, l. 2. c. 50—55.

king

A.D.1380. king of France, Charles V. who expired on September 16, and was ſucceeded by his ſon Charles VI. a youth about twelve years of age[13].

Change in the duke of Brittany.

This event produced a great change in the deſigns of the duke of Brittany. This prince, obſerving that the averſion of his ſubjects to the Engliſh was not in the leaſt abated, and that ſeveral of his towns were reſolved to ſhut their gates againſt them, began to think of making his peace with France, and with great ſecrecy ſent commiſſioners to Paris to propoſe an accommodation. But as he had invited the Engliſh army to his aſſiſtance, he found it neceſſary to receive them with ſome degree of civility; and ſent ſix of his chief nobility to compliment the earl of Buckingham on his arrival in Brittany, and to propoſe an interview with their duke. Theſe princes accordingly met at Meziere, near Rennes; where it was agreed, that the Engliſh army ſhould undertake the ſiege of Nantes, in which the duke promiſed to join them with his forces, in a few weeks. The Engliſh, in conſequence of this agreement, inveſted Nantes, and continued the ſiege about two months; when finding that the duke had failed in his engagement to join them, through the averſion of his ſubjects to the Engliſh intereſt, they raiſed the ſiege, and retired to Vannes into winter-quarters[14].

War with Scotland.

The Scots invaded and plundered Cumberland and Weſtmoreland in ſummer, and carried off

[13] Froiſſart, l. 2. c. 56. 60. [14] Froiſſart, t. 2. ch. 59—63.

2 much

much booty; particularly ſeveral thouſands of cattle of different kinds. When the earl of Northumberland was raiſing an army to retaliate this injury, he was reſtrained by orders from court. Theſe orders were probably procured by the influence of the duke of Lancaſter, who deſigned this employment for himſelf. Accordingly he made an expedition into Scotland, where he gathered no laurels; but having concluded a truce at Berwick, November 1, he returned to England [15]. A.D. 1380.

Though the laſt parliament had requeſted that there might not be another till a year after, the exigencies of the ſtate requiring it, one was called to meet at Northampton November 5, and a freſh ſupply demanded, for the pay of the army under the earl of Buckingham in Brittany, and for other purpoſes. The parliament, after long deliberation, and ſeveral conferences between the two houſes, impoſed a poll-tax of three groats on every perſon in the kingdom above fifteen years of age, except mere beggars, the richer to aſſiſt the poorer [16]: a tax which was productive of very fatal conſequences. Parliament.

The negotiations of the duke of Brittany at the court of France were now perfected; and a peace was concluded January 15, by which the duke engaged to renounce his alliance with England, to ſend home the Engliſh army now in his coun- A.D. 1381. Engliſh army returns from Brittany.

[15] Walſing. p. 240. 244. Rymer, vol. 7. p. 276—279.
[16] Parliament. Hiſt. vol. 1. p. 358—363.

A.D. 1381. try, and to hold his duchy of the crown of France. Nothing could equal the ſurpriſe of the earl of Buckingham when he heard of this treaty. But as there was no remedy, he embarked his army and returned to England, having endured great fatigues, and expended great ſums of money [17].

State of the common people.

The poll-tax impoſed by the laſt parliament excited the moſt violent commotions in England. That numerous and uſeful claſs of men who were in thoſe times called *Villains*, and were little better than the ſlaves and property of their lordly maſters, had of late years born the yoke with great impatience. This yoke was rendered more galling by the frequent taxes lately impoſed by parliament, particularly by the poll-tax, which fell very heavy on the poorer ſort of people, and was made more grievous by the ſeverity with which it was collected. In a word, the minds of the common people all over England were ſo exaſperated by the various oppreſſions under which they laboured, that they were ready to engage in any deſperate attempt [18].

Inſurrection of the common people.

A ſmall ſpark ſet fire to this train, and excited a prodigious flame. A quarrel ariſing between one of the poll-tax gatherers and a tyler in Deptford, named Walter, the tyler beat out the brains of the tax-gatherer with his hammer [19]. His neighbours applauded the action, and promiſed to protect him from puniſhment. In a little time

[17] Walſing. p. 242, 243. Froiſſart, l. 2. c. 65.
[18] Knyghton, col. 2633. [19] Id. ibid.

ſeveral

ſeveral hundreds were gathered together, who were every moment alarmed and enraged by flying reports of the dreadful vengeance which the government threatened to take for the death of the tax-gatherer. The inſurgents ſent meſſengers into the neighbouring counties on both ſides of the Thames, commanding the common people to join with them in ſhaking off the yoke of ſervitude, and taking vengeance on their oppreſſors. Theſe commands were too well obeyed. The commons every where abandoned their employments, and flew to arms. From all parts they directed their march toward London, burning the houſes, and plundering the eſtates of the nobility and gentry in their route. The rage of this dangerous multitude was much inflamed by the declamations of one John Ball, a ſeditious preacher, whom they had releaſed out of Maidſtone gaol. This turbulent monk, who had been long remarkable for courting low popularity, held forth with great vehemence to the rioters on the natural equality of mankind, which he exhorted them to reſtore, by murdering all the nobility, gentry, lawyers, and ſuperior clergy, and dividing the world amongſt themſelves [20]. The inſurgents of Kent, Eſſex, and the neighbouring counties, came to a general rendezvous on Blackheath, Wedneſday June 12, when they are ſaid to have amounted to 100,000 men, under their two leaders Wat Tyler and Jack Straw. A.D. 1381.

[20] Walſing. p. 275. Froiſſart, l. 2. c. 72. Knyghton, col. 2633, 2634.

A.D. 1381. Progreſs of the inſurrection.

The progreſs of this inſurrection was ſo rapid, and the conſternation it occaſioned ſo great, that no meaſures were taken by the government for its ſuppreſſion. The king's three uncles, who had the chief direction of affairs, were all abſent; the duke of Lancaſter in Scotland, negotiating a truce with that kingdom; the earl of Cambridge gone with ſome troops to the aſſiſtance of the king of Portugal, againſt the king of Caſtile; and the earl of Buckingham at his eſtate in Wales [21]. The young king, in this extremity, took ſhelter with his mother and a few of his counſellors, in the tower of London.

The inſurgents ſend a meſſage to the king.

Among other acts of violence which the inſurgents committed in their way to London, they ſeized ſeveral knights and gentlemen, whom they obliged to accompany them; and from Blackheath they ſent one of theſe knights to the tower of London, with a meſſage to the king, inviting him to come and ſpeak with them concerning the government of the kingdom, which they ſaid was ill conducted by his uncles, by the archbiſhop of Canterbury, and others [22].

The king's anſwer.

After ſome time ſpent in deliberation, the king returned this anſwer by their own meſſenger: "That if they would approach the river Thames, "he would ſpeak with them next morning, being "Thurſday June 13." Agreeable to this meſſage, the king went on board his barge early in the morning, with the earls of Saliſbury, Warwick,

[21] Froiſſart, t. 2. c. 75. [22] Id. ibid.

and,

and ſome other noblemen, and ſteered towards Redriff, where about 10,000 of the inſurgents attended on the banks. As ſoon as they beheld the royal barge approaching, they ſet up ſuch horrible cries (ſays Froiſſart), as if all the devils in hell had been in their company. The noblemen who were with the king diſſuaded him from expoſing his perſon to the will of ſuch an enraged rabble; upon which he put back, and returned to the tower [23]. A.D. 1381.

It is impoſſible to deſcribe the fury of the rioters on this diſappointment. As ſoon as it was communicated to the main body on Blackheath, they immediately ſet out for London, deſtroying every thing in their way. In Southwark they did much miſchief, burning houſes, and beheading all gentlemen who were ſo unhappy as to fall into their hands. The gate on London bridge, which had been ſhut, being opened by the mob within, they ruſhed in, and ſpread over all the city, filling every place with conſternation. They burnt the noble palace of the Savoye, with all its rich furniture, belonging to the duke of Lancaſter, the chief object of their malice. The temple, with all its valuable records, ſhared the ſame fate. They cut off the heads of all the Flemings and Lombards they could find; and would have done much more miſchief, if the greateſt part of them had not been overcome with liquor, and ſunk into repoſe [24]. The inſurgents enter London.

[23] Froiſſart, t. 2. c. 76.
[24] Id. ibid. Walſing. p. 249. Knyghton, col. 2635.

A.D.1381. In the night which ſucceeded this fatal day, a council was held in the tower; in which the intrepid W. Walworth, lord mayor of London, propoſed to ruſh out upon the rioters, now buried in ſleep and wine, and put them to the ſword. But this meaſure appearing too dangerous to the other counſellors, it was reſolved, that the king ſhould endeavour to prevail upon them to ſeparate, and return home, by fair words, and by granting all their demands [25].

Council held in the tower.

The inſurgents murder ſeveral great men.

Next morning, June 14, the king ſent a meſſage to the inſurgents, who appeared in great multitudes on Tower-hill, and demanded an audience, "That if they would peaceably retire to Mile-"end, he would meet them, and hear their de-"mands." The great body of the rioters complied with this meſſage; and the king, with a few attendants, all unarmed, leaving the tower, proceeded to that place. Wat Tyler and Jack Straw, with a multitude of their moſt furious followers, ruſhed into the tower as ſoon as the king left it, ſeized Simon Sudbury, archbiſhop of Canterbury, the chancellor, and ſir Robert Hales, the treaſurer, and immediately cut off their heads, with thoſe of ſome other perſons of inferior note [26].

The king meets the inſurgents.

In the mean time the king reached Mile-end, where he found an immenſe multitude, computed to be 60,000; to whom he addreſſed himſelf in the mildeſt and kindeſt language, aſking them

[25] Froiſſart, t. 2. c. 76.

[26] Id. ibid. Walſing. p. 251. Knyghton, col. 2635.

what

what they wanted, and promiſing to grant them whatever they deſired. They demanded that they, their lands, poſſeſſions, and poſterity, might be free; and that there might be no ſlaves or ſervitude in England for ever. The king, with the greateſt frankneſs, promiſed to grant them the moſt ample charters of freedom, under the great ſeal, with a pardon for all that was paſt, provided they would retire peaceably to their own homes. The people joyfully accepted theſe offers; and about thirty expert clerks being ſet to work to write theſe charters, which conſiſted only of a few lines, they were ſealed, and delivered to all who demanded them, who thereupon returned home, happy in the ſucceſs of their expedition [27]. A.D. 1381.

While the inſurgents from Eſſex and Hertfordſhire were thus diſperſing, thoſe of Kent were ſtill carrying on their ravages in and about London, under the direction of their leader Wat Tyler, who had formed the moſt diabolical deſigns. Theſe deſigns were to ſeize the king, to murder all the nobility, to plunder and then to burn the city of London. But providence would not permit ſuch helliſh purpoſes to be crowned with ſucceſs; for on Saturday June 15, as the king was paſſing through Smithfield, with about ſixty horſemen in his train, he met Wat Tyler at the head of twenty thouſand of his followers. As ſoon as Tyler ſaw the king, he put ſpurs to his horſe, and preſſed into the royal preſence, where he behaved in the Wat Tyler killed.

[27] Brady, vol 2. Append. No. 103. Walſing. p. 254.

A.D. 1381. moſt clowniſh and audacious manner, and made the moſt ſenſeleſs and extravagant demands [28]. The generous Walworth, lord mayor of London, who was in the king's company, not able to bear the inſolence of this audacious clown, drew his ſword, and with one blow felled him from his horſe to the ground, where he was inſtantly diſpatched [29].

The king's preſence of mind.

This bold action might have been fatal to the king, and all his company, if the rioters had been allowed time to recover from their ſurpriſe. But while they were ſtanding motionleſs with aſtoniſhment at the unexpected fall of their leader, the young king, with a preſence of mind which ſeemed to be inſpired from Heaven, rode up to them, and ſaid, "My lieges, be not concerned for the loſs of "your unworthy leader; I am your king, I will "be your leader, follow me into the fields, and "I will grant you whatever you can deſire." The king, riding gently on towards the open fields, the multitude followed him, hardly knowing what they did, and ſtill leſs what they deſigned to do [30].

Inſurgents diſperſed.

In the mean time, a cry aroſe in the city, that the inſurgents had the king in their hands, and deſigned to murder him. Great multitudes flew to arms to reſcue their ſovereign, or revenge his death; and the lord mayor, in a ſhort time, collected ſome thouſands of brave men, well armed, under the command of ſir Robert Knolles and others. He conducted them into the fields, where the king was communing with the rioters. As

[28] Knyghton, p. 2636.

[29] Walſing. p. 253. Froiſſart, l. 2. c. 77. [30] Walſing. p. 253.

ſoon

ſoon as theſe wretches beheld the men at arms, they were ſeized with a panic, fell upon their knees, and implored the king's mercy; which that prince, with equal wiſdom and goodneſs, granted them, on condition that they immediately diſperſed and returned home [31]. A.D. 1381.

Inſurrections in other places.

While theſe ſurpriſing ſcenes were acting in London, commotions of the ſame kind were raiſed by the people in many other parts of England. At St. Alban's, a prodigious mob, under the command of William Gryndicobbe and William Cadyndon, a chandler, cut off the heads of ſeveral gentlemen; and, by threatening to do the ſame to the abbot and all his monks, they extorted from them charters of freedom and manumiſſion [32]. At St. Edmundſbury, a like mob, under one Robert Weſtbroom, did incredible miſchief, and beheaded ſir John Cavendiſh chief juſtice of England, and ſeveral other gentlemen [33]. In Norfolk, an immenſe multitude of ruſtics had got together, under the command of John Littiſter, a dyer in Norwich, who aſſumed the title of *King of the Commons*. They carried ſome lords and gentlemen through the country with them, to countenance their proceedings, which were as cruel and deſtructive as thoſe of the other rioters [34]. But all theſe inſurrections were happily of very ſhort continuance. The Norfolk inſurgents were defeated and diſperſed by Henry Spencer, the mar-

[31] Froiſſart, l. 2. c 77.
[32] Walſing. p. 254, 255, 256, 257.
[33] Id. p. 261.
[34] Id. p. 263.

tial

A.D. 1381. tial biſhop of Norwich[35]. Thoſe of St. Alban's, St. Edmundſbury, and other places, having heard of the death of Wat Tyler, and the diſperſion of his followers at London, ſeparated, and retired to their own homes; ſo that in a very few days this dreadful ſtorm was ſucceeded by a profound calm[36].

The king raiſes an army, and revokes the charters.

As ſoon as the inſurgents were every where diſſipated, the king ſummoned all the military tenants of the crown to appear immediately at London, with horſes and arms. This ſummons was ſo well obeyed, that in a few days a gallant army of 40,000 horſemen appeared at the rendezvous on Blackheath. As ſoon as the king found himſelf ſupported by ſo great a power, he iſſued a proclamation, June 30, commanding all tenants in villainage to perform their uſual ſervices to their lords[37]. In a few days he proceeded a ſtep further; and at Chelmsford, July 2, publiſhed letters-patent, revoking all the charters of freedom which had been lately granted to the common people of Eſſex, and ſome other places[38].

Inſurgents tried and executed.

The kingdom being now reſtored to a ſtate of perfect tranquillity, commiſſions were granted to certain judges to go into the different counties for the trial of the moſt criminal of the rioters. Theſe commiſſions were executed with ſo much ſeverity, eſpecially by ſir Robert Treſilian, chief juſtice of the king's bench, that about fifteen

[35] Walſing. p. 264. [36] Froiſſart, l. 2. c. 77.
[37] Rymer, t. 7. p. 315, 316. [38] Id. ibid. p. 217, 218.

hundred

hundred unhappy wretches were condemned and executed as traitors [39]. A.D. 1381.

The duke of Lancaſter had reſided in Scotland during the late commotions, and concluded a truce with that kingdom from July 18, 1381, to February 2, 1384 [40]. Truce with Scotland.

In his return from Scotland, the governor of Berwick, by directions from the earl of Northumberland, refuſed him admittance into that town; which created a moſt violent quarrel between the duke and that brave and potent earl. A parliament being ſummoned to meet at Weſtminſter on Monday November 4, both theſe great peers came to it, attended by their numerous followers in arms, which for ſome days interrupted all public buſineſs. But the king and lords having at length reconciled theſe powerful adverſaries, the parliament proceeded in its deliberations on Saturday November 9 [41]. Quarrel between the duke of Lancaſter and the earl of Northumberland.

This parliament declared, that the late charters of liberty and manumiſſion, granted to many villains and bond tenants by the king, were null and void. But though they reduced ſo great a multitude of their fellow-ſubjects to a ſtate of ſervitude, they were not willing to impoſe any further burden upon them at this time, and refuſed to grant any ſupply. But the king, with equal obſtinacy, refuſing to grant a general pardon, which was thought neceſſary for quieting the minds of the people Parliament.

[39] Froiſſart, t. 2. c. 79.
[40] Rymer, vol. 7. p. 312.
[41] Froiſſart, t. 2. c. 80.

after

A.D.1381. after the late commotions, the parliament yielded, and granted a ſubſidy on wool, wool-fells, and leather[42]. After this the general pardon was publiſhed, and the parliament was prorogued on December 13, to January 24, to make way for a ſolemnity of another nature.

A.D.1382. The king's marriage. The king being now in the ſixteenth year of his age, a treaty of marriage was concluded between him and the princeſs Anne, daughter of the late emperor Charles IV. and ſiſter to the preſent emperor Winceſlaus king of Bohemia; and the princeſs arriving in England, the marriage was ſolemnized in the beginning of this year[43].

Parliament. When the parliament reaſſembled January 24, the duke of Lancaſter, titular king of Caſtile and Leon, made a propoſal to carry an army into Spain, to the aſſiſtance of the king of Portugal, and to obtain poſſeſſion of thoſe two kingdoms, if he might be allowed 60,000 l. for the pay of that army. This propoſal occaſioned warm debates, and the duke was not able to carry his point at this time. The commons however were prevailed upon to continue the high duties on wool, wool-fells, and leather, for four years after Midſummer next[44].

Unpopular conduct of the young king. The brave and prudent part which the young king had acted during the late dangerous inſurrections, had filled the minds of his ſubjects with the moſt ſanguine expectations of a glorious reign.

42 Parliament. Hiſt. vol. 1. p. 363—368. 43 Walſing. p. 281.
44 Parliament. Hiſt. vol. 1. p. 368—370.

But

But theſe expectations were not anſwered; and this prince did not long perſiſt in this honourable courſe. His education had been ſhamefully neglected by his ambitious uncles, who were too keenly engaged in purſuing their own deſigns to be at any pains in forming the mind and manners of their royal pupil. They left him in the hands of young perſons of diſſolute characters, who corrupted his mind with flattery, and inſpired him with the love of pomp and pleaſure; ſo that he ſoon became vain, voluptuous, and extravagant, to a very great degree. One of the firſt unpopular acts of Richard's government, which gave his ſubjects an unfavourable impreſſion of his character, was his taking the great ſeal from Henry le Scroop, to whom it had been committed with the approbation of parliament, becauſe he refuſed to ſeal certain extravagant grants of land made to ſome retainers about court, who had by no means merited ſuch rewards. The young king, incenſed at this oppoſition to his will, took the ſeal into his own hands, put it to theſe grants, and then delivered it to Robert Braybroke biſhop of London [45]. A.D.1382.

A parliament met at Weſtminſter, Monday October 6, and after ſome time ſpent in deliberation, granted the king a fifteenth and a tenth for defraying the expences of the war with France, and the other enemies of the kingdom [46]. Parliament.

The biſhop of Hereford then laid before the parliament, for their advice, two ſchemes for proſecuting the war. Schemes for proſecuting the war.

45 Walſing. p. 290. Rymer, vol. 7. p. 362.
46 Parliament. Hiſt. vol. 1. p. 371.

A.D.1382. ſecuting the war. The firſt was, by ſending the duke of Lancaſter into Spain with an army of 2000 men at arms, and archers, for whoſe pay he now demanded only 43,000l. The other ſcheme was, to aſſiſt the people of Flanders, who were then at war with their own ſovereign, who was ſupported by France. The houſe of lords, after a ſolemn debate, declared it to be their opinion, that the army propoſed by the duke was too ſmall to perform any effectual ſervice; and the houſe of commons diſcovered a ſtill greater diſlike to the duke's propoſal. The whole parliament ſeemed rather to favour the ſecond ſcheme, of an union with the Flemings[47].

Propoſal of the biſhop of Norwich.

This was partly owing to a propoſal which was at this time made by the biſhop of Norwich, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf ſo much by ſuppreſſing the late inſurrections in his dioceſe. This martial prelate offered to raiſe an army of 3000 men at arms, and 3000 archers, to tranſport them to Calais, and, in conjunction with the Flemings, to ſerve one year againſt France, on condition of receiving the ſubſidies granted in the laſt parliament, both by the clergy and laity[48]. But while the Engliſh were deliberating, the French were acting; and having obtained a victory over the Flemings at Comines, and another at Roſebecque, they reduced all Flanders except Gand, which was beſieged[49].

[47] Parliament. Hiſt. vol. 1. p. 371, 372. [48] Walſing. p. 291.
[49] Froiſſart, t. 2. ch. 125, 126.

This

This rapid progreſs of the French arms, with their threatening to beſiege Calais, raiſed a great alarm in England, and occaſioned the meeting of a parliament on Monday February 23. The biſhop of London, lord chancellor, told the parliament, that the deſign of calling them was to have their advice, whether the king ſhould go into Flanders in perſon, with a royal army, to the relief of Gand, or what other method ſhould be taken to proſecute the war [50]. The parliament, after deliberating ſome days, gave it as their advice, that ſince the truce with Scotland was near expiring, and the Scots ſeemed to be diſpoſed to renew hoſtilities, it was not proper that either the king, or any of his uncles, ſhould leave the kingdom; but they adviſed him rather to accept of the propoſal of the biſhop of Norwich, for relieving Gand, and carrying on the war with France [51]. A.D. 1383. Parliament.

In conſequence of this parliamentary advice, an agreement was made with the biſhop, who ſailed with the beſt part of his troops to Calais in May [52]. This eccleſiaſtical general was not acting on this occaſion ſo much out of character as may appear at firſt ſight. He found means to bring religion into the quarrel; and was not only general for the king of England againſt the king of France, but leader of a croiſade for pope Urban VI. who reſided at Rome, and was acknowledged by the Engliſh, againſt pope Clement VII. who reſided Expedition of the biſhop of Norwich

[50] Parliament. Hiſt. vol. 1. p. 373. [51] Id. Ibid. p. 374.
[52] Rymer, vol. 7. p. 385. 406. Walſing. p. 298.

at

A.D. 1383. at Avignon, and was received by the French, Caſtilians, and Scots [53]. This laſt character was of great advantage to the biſhop, and enabled him both to raiſe and pay his army. The military men flew to his ſtandard to gain the pardon of their ſins, which was promiſed to all who engaged in this pious enterpriſe; and the good ladies of England, thinking that the old gentleman at Rome had a much better right to keep the keys of the kingdom of heaven than his antagoniſt at Avignon, contributed very liberally both in money and jewels to the expences of the expedition [54].

Progreſs of the biſhop of Norwich.

The biſhop having ſpent ſome days at Calais in refreſhing his men, took the field, and was very ſucceſsful in his firſt military operations. He took Gravelines by aſſault; and having defeated an army of 30,000 French and Flemings near Dunkirk, he made himſelf maſter of that place. He then gained the towns of Burburgh, Caſſel, Dixmude, Furnes, Newport, and Popering, with ſome others, and beſieged Ypres. But this place put a ſtop to his career: being ſtrongly fortified, and bravely defended, it reſiſted all his aſſaults; and his army, hearing of the approach of the king of France, decamped with great precipitation, without his conſent. One part of the Engliſh army marched to Burburgh, under ſir Thomas Trivet and others, and the other part of it retired, with the biſhop, to Gravelines. The French army inveſted Burburgh, and obliged the Engliſh

53 Walſing. p. 291. 54 Knyghton, p. 2671. Walſing. p. 297.

to

to ſurrender the place, on condition of being allowed to march, with their arms, horſes, and baggage, to Calais [55]. The French then ſat down before Gravelines, where, apprehending a ſtout reſiſtance, they offered the biſhop 15,000 marks, with liberty to demoliſh the town, and to retire with his army where he pleaſed. The biſhop, after waiting ſome time for ſuccours from England, accepted theſe terms, and, having demoliſhed Gravelines, returned home with the ſhattered remains of his army [56]. Thus ended this famous expedition of this martial biſhop, in which he did not betray any want of military ſkill or courage. A.D. 1383.

Soon after the biſhop's return, a parliament met, October 26, to deliberate concerning a peace with Scotland; and the means of proſecuting the war with France and Caſtile [57]. The Scots had engaged to ſend commiſſioners to this parliament to negotiate a peace; but, at the inſtigation of France, they neglected to do this till it was too late [58]. The parliament granted the king two half-fifteenths for defraying the expences of the war [59]. Parliament.

The biſhop of Norwich was arraigned before this aſſembly, by the king's miniſters, for the miſcarriage of his expedition; and though he defended himſelf with great ſpirit, yet, finding the Biſhop of Norwich accuſed.

55 Froiſſart, l. 2. c. 142. 145. Walſing. p. 298—303.
56 Walſing. p. 305. 57 Parliament. Hiſt. vol. 1. p. 378.
58 Walſing. p. 307. 59 Parliament. Hiſt. vol. 1. p. 379.

A.D. 1383. torrent too ſtrong to be reſiſted, he caſt himſelf on the king's mercy, and was for ſome time deprived of his temporalities [60].

A.D. 1384. Truce with France and Scotland.

About this time overtures for a peace between England and France were made by the duke of Brittany; and the duke of Lancaſter going over to Calais, entered into a negotiation on that ſubject with the dukes of Berry and Burgundy, uncles to the king of France. But the French inſiſting on the reſtitution of Calais, Cherburg, and Breſt, theſe negotiations produced only a truce from January 26, to Michaelmas, in which the Scots were to be included, if they pleaſed [61]. The Scots meditating an incurſion into England, did not immediately accept of the truce; and the duke of Lancaſter, after his return from Calais, made an expedition into Scotland, where he plundered and burnt ſome places; which the Scots ſoon after retaliated, and then acceded to the truce [62].

Confuſions in London.

The city of London was about this time a ſcene of great confuſion, and of frequent tumults, occaſioned chiefly by John Northampton the late mayor, a creature of the duke of Lancaſter's. But one John Conſtantin being condemned and executed, and Northampton impriſoned, the tranquillity of the city was reſtored [63].

Duke of Lancaſter accuſed.

An affair of a very dark and myſterious nature was tranſacted at a parliament which met at Saliſ-

[60] Cotton's Abridgment, p. 192.
[61] Rymer, t. 7. p. 419—423. Froiſſart, l. 2. c. 147.
[62] Id. ibid. c. 148, 149, 150. [63] Walſing. p. 108.

bury,

bury, April 25. An Iriſh Carmelite friar accuſed the duke of Lancaſter, before the king and council, of having formed a plot to murder the king and uſurp the crown. The duke, juſt then returned from his expedition into Scotland, denied the charge with great vehemence, and inſiſted that his accuſer ſhould be confined until he had made good his accuſation. The friar was accordingly committed to the cuſtody of ſir John Holland; but he was found dead in his chamber, on the night before the day appointed for his appearance in council. The enemies of the duke gave out, that the poor friar had been murdered; and the duke's friends aſſerted, that he had killed himſelf[64]. At this diſtance of time it is impoſſible to diſcover which of theſe aſſertions was moſt agreeable to truth. This parliament at Saliſbury granted the king one half-fifteenth[65]. A.D. 1384.

Though the duke of Lancaſter was very unpopular, and generally ſuſpected of the moſt ambitious and criminal deſigns, his power, wealth, and influence, were ſo great, that he ſtill had the chief direction of public affairs. He went into France in Auguſt, with a grand retinue, to renew the negotiations for a peace; but, after ſpending 50,000 marks, he obtained only a truce till May 1, A. D. 1385[66]. Truce with France.

The king's miniſters took the opportunity of the duke's abſence to bring his great partiſan John Late mayor of London tried.

[64] Walſing. p. 309. [65] Id. p. 310.
[66] Rymer, vol. 7. p. 438—447. Walſing. p. 310.

A.D.1384. Northampton to his trial: and he was ſentenced to perpetual impriſonment a hundred miles from London, and his eſtate confiſcated [67].

Intention to bring the duke of Lancaſter to trial.

Encouraged by this ſucceſs, the miniſtry formed the bold deſign of bringing the duke himſelf to a trial for treaſon, before ſir Robert Treſilian, chief juſtice of the king's bench: a deſign equally imprudent and illegal. The duke, informed of their intention, retired to his caſtle of Pontefract, and every thing ſeemed to threaten a civil war; when the princeſs of Wales interpoſed, and with much difficulty patched up a kind of reconciliation between the duke and the king her ſon [68].

Parliament.

A parliament met at Weſtminſter, November 12, and granted the king two fifteenths to enable him to proſecute the war with France, Caſtile, and Scotland, at the expiration of the truce [69].

A.D.1385. Richard's expedition into Scotland.

The French, reſolving to remove the ſeat of the war out of their own country, ſent John de Vienne, admiral of France, with a fleet, a body of troops, and a large ſum of money, to engage the Scots to invade the north of England; while a prodigious fleet and army were preparing in France for an invaſion of it in the ſouth [70]. The Scots, ever ready to liſten to ſuch propoſals, made an incurſion into Northumberland, burning and plundering the country. The king, reſolving to march in perſon againſt the Scots, ſummoned all the

[67] Walſing. p. 310. [68] Id. p. 314.
[69] Parliament. Hiſt. vol. 1. p. 385.
[70] Walſing. p. 316. Froiſſart, l. 2. c. 156.

military

military tenants of the crown, and, in Auguſt, entered Scotland at the head of thirty thouſand horſe, beſides foot. The Scots, unable to meet this army in the field, retired northward, carrying with them their cattle, and moſt valuable effects; and the Engliſh, meeting with no oppoſition, burnt Edinburgh and ſome other towns, and deſolated the open country. But while they were thus employed, an army of Scots had entered the weſt marches, and were acting the ſame deſtructive part; which obliged the Engliſh to evacuate Scotland, and return, about the middle of September, to the defence of their own country [71]. If the other part of the ſcheme had been as well executed, England would have been expoſed to much danger; but ſo much time was ſpent in collecting ſhips for tranſporting the troops to the Engliſh coaſt, that it was not till September that a fleet of 1200 ſail rendezvouſed in the harbour of Sluys. Here they were detained near two months by contrary winds; ſo that it was at length reſolved to delay the expedition till next ſpring [72]. A.D.1385.

When the king entered Scotland with his army, he conferred new honours, and extravagant grants, on his two great favourites, Michael de la Pole, the chancellor, and Robert de Vere earl of Oxford; and his two uncles, the earls of Cambridge and Buckingham, were not aſhamed at this time to ſhare with theſe favourites in the ſpoils of the Richard beſtows honours on his favourites and his uncles.

[71] Knyghton, col. 2742. Froiſſart, l. 2. c. 171, 172, 173.
[72] Froiſſart, l. 3. c. 25.

A.D.1385. crown. The earl of Cambridge, lately returned from Portugal, was made duke of York, and the earl of Buckingham duke of Glouceſter, with a grant of 1000*l.* a-year to each of them[73]. Michael de la Pole was made earl of Suffolk, with a grant of 1000 marks a-year; and the earl of Oxford was made marquis of Dublin, and not long after duke of Ireland, with a grant of the whole kingdom of Ireland. All theſe new honours and grants were confirmed by a parliament, which met October 20, and gave the king a tenth and fifteenth, and half a tenth and fifteenth for proſecuting the war[74].

A.D.1386. Duke of Lancaſter's expedition into Spain.

So good an underſtanding ſubſiſted at this time between the king's favourites and his uncles, that the duke of Lancaſter was at length indulged in his darling deſign of conducting an Engliſh army into Spain, to aſſert his claim to the crowns of Caſtile and Leon; and one half of the ſupplies granted by the laſt parliament was given him for that purpoſe. The conjuncture was thought favourable for proſecuting this deſign. John, the preſent king of Caſtile, having married Beatrix, the only legitimate child of Ferdinand late king of Portugal, claimed that crown, and, in order to obtain it, beſieged Liſbon. But the Portugueſe, hating the Caſtilians, placed John, a natural brother of Ferdinand, on the throne; and under his conduct, raiſed the ſiege of Liſbon, and gained a

73 Rymer, vol. 7. p. 481—484.

74 Parliament. Hiſt. vol. 1. p. 387. Walſing. p. 320, 321.

great

great victory over the Caſtilians at Aljubarata [75]. A.D. 1386. The new king of Portugal, ſtill dreading the ſuperior power of his rival the king of Caſtile, entered into a ſtrict alliance with the duke of Lancaſter, engaging to aſſiſt him with his whole power in obtaining poſſeſſion of the kingdoms of Caſtile and Leon. The duke, encouraged by ſo powerful an ally, raiſed an army of 20,000 men; and taking with him his wife Conſtantia, heireſs of Caſtile, and his daughters, Philippa, Eliſabeth, and Catharine, ſailed from Portſmouth in May; and having, in his paſſage, raiſed the ſiege of Breſt, which was beſieged by the duke of Brittany, he arrived at Corunna Auguſt 9 [76]. Here we ſhall leave him to perſecute his claim, and return to the affairs of England.

French invaſion threatened.

The French, thinking this a proper ſeaſon for invading England, when deprived of ſo great a number of her braveſt ſons, made prodigious preparations for that purpoſe. The army deſigned for this expedition, when reviewed at Arras, amounted to 63,000 men, and a fleet of 1200 ſhips was provided at Sluys for tranſporting this army [77]. Theſe mighty preparations occaſioned a great alarm in England, eſpecially at London; but after the firſt conſternation was over, and the military forces of the kingdom were properly ſtationed along the coaſts, they waited with great tranquillity

[75] Froiſſart, l. 3. c. 15. [76] Id. ibid. c. 29. 31, 32. Walſing. p. 321. Knyghton, col. 2677.
[77] Walſing. p. 325. Froiſſart, l. 3. c. 35.

A.D.1386. the arrival of the enemy. They never did arrive: for the ſeaſon was ſo far advanced before the duke of Berry joined them with his followers, that it was reſolved in a great council of war to delay the expedition till the next year[78]. Thus ended all thoſe prodigious preparations of the French for invading England, which for ſeveral months had engaged the attention of all Europe, and by the expences of which many of the French nobility were almoſt ruined.

Parliament. While the kingdom was in daily expectation of this French invaſion, a parliament was ſummoned to meet October 1, to provide for the ſupport of the great number of troops employed in guarding the coaſts[79].

Diſſenſions between the king and parliament. It might have been imagined that the impending danger of ſo formidable an invaſion would have rendered this great aſſembly hearty and unanimous in ſupporting government. But this was far from being the caſe. The houſe of commons, inſtead of granting the ſupplies, made bitter complaints againſt Michael de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, lord chancellor, and inſiſted on his being immediately removed from his high office, and from the king's council. The king, to avoid granting this, retired to Eltham with his whole court; and the parliament ſent the duke of Glouceſter (the chief mover of this proſecution againſt the miniſters) and James Arundel biſhop of Ely, to invite the

[78] Froiſſart, l. 3. c. 41, 42, 43, 44.
[79] Parliament. Hiſt. vol. 1. p. 390. Cotton Abridg. p. 314.

king

king to return to his parliament; and to threaten, A.D.1386.
that if he did not comply, they would immediately diſſolve, and leave the nation in its preſent diſtracted ſtate. The king, not complying at firſt, the parliamentary commiſſioners made a ſecond ſpeech in a much higher ſtrain, putting him in mind of the depoſition of Edward II. and plainly intimating that this would be his fate, if he did not return to his parliament [80].

Earl of Suffolk condemned.

The king, intimidated by this threat, promiſed to come in three days, and give his parliament full ſatisfaction. He came accordingly, and in full parliament the biſhop of Ely was made chancellor in the room of the earl of Suffolk, who had reſigned, the biſhop of Hereford was made treaſurer inſtead of the biſhop of Durham, and John de Waltham was made keeper of the privy ſeal. The reſignation of the earl of Suffolk did not appeaſe the houſe of commons, who brought an impeachment againſt him before the lords, for high crimes and miſdemeanours. Such as peruſe the articles of this impeachment with candour, will probably be of opinion, that there was much of party-rage in this proſecution; and that the earl's greateſt crime was, the too great ſhare he had in the favour and confidence of his royal maſter [81]. He was found guilty, deprived of all he had received from the crown, except the title of *Earl of Suffolk*, and 20l. a-year out of the profits of that county,

[80] Knyghton, col. 2680—2683.
[81] Id. col. 2684, 2685. Parl. Hiſt. vol. 1. p. 397—399.

and

A.D.1386. and committed to the cuſtody of his mortal enemy the duke of Glouceſter.

Council of regency appointed.

The parliament did not think fit to proſecute any other of the king's miniſters at this time; but they obliged himſelf to ſign a commiſſion to certain lords, eleven in number, with the chancellor, treaſurer, and keeper of the privy ſeal, which diveſted him of all authority, and entirely changed the Engliſh conſtitution for a ſeaſon[82]. After all theſe tranſactions, this famous parliament granted the king a half tenth and fifteenth, three ſhillings on every ton of wine, and one ſhilling in the pound on all merchandiſe, for the defence of the nation.

Proceedings of the duke of Lancaſter in Spain.

The duke of Lancaſter, after landing at Corunna, made an unſucceſsful attack on the caſtle of that place; but he was more fortunate in his attempts on St. Jago de Campoſtella, Padrone, and ſome other towns of Gallicia, which ſubmitted. After the campaign was over, he had an interview, with the king of Portugal at Porto, where a marriage was ſolemnized between that king and the princeſs Philippa, the duke's daughter by Blanche of Lancaſter, his firſt wife. At this interview, theſe two princes ſettled the plan of their operations for the next campaign, againſt their common enemy John king of Caſtile[83].

A.D.1387. Proceedings of the

As ſoon as the king had ſigned the above commiſſion, inveſting the eleven commiſſioners, toge-

[82] Knyghton, col. 2686—2692. Parl. Hiſt. vol. 1. p. 401—404.
[83] Froiſſart, l. 3. c. 37, 38, 39.

ther

ther with the new chancellor, treaſurer, and keeper of the privy ſeal, with an almoſt unlimited authority, he found that he poſſeſſed no more than the empty name of king. His perſon was neglected, his court deſerted, and all applications made to the duke of Glouceſter, and the other commiſſioners, who were all, except the archbiſhop of York, zealous partiſans of the duke. This neglect and ſolitude was very diſagreeable to a young prince, fond of power, but ſtill more fond of pomp; and there is no reaſon to doubt, that he entertained a very lively reſentment againſt his two uncles, the dukes of York and Glouceſter, and the lords of their party, who had reduced him to this ſtate of inſignificancy. He was ſtill attended by a few perſons, who were the chief objects of his affection, and were reſolved to ſhare his fortunes. The chief of theſe were Robert de Vere, lately created duke of Ireland, the earl of Suffolk, who had eſcaped out of his priſon at Windſor, Alexander Nevel, archbiſhop of York, ſir Robert Treſilian, chief juſtice of the king's bench, ſir Nicholas Brembre, late mayor of London, ſir Simon de Burley, conſtable of Dover caſtle, and ſome others of inferior note. The king held frequent conſultations with theſe confidents about the means of emancipating himſelf from his preſent ſtate of ſubjection, and recovering his loſt authority. In theſe conſultations, it is not improbable, that ſome very raſh and deſperate propoſals were made. But many deſigns are ſaid to have been formed by the king and his miniſters,

A.D. 1387. king after he had ſigned the commiſſion of regency.

A.D.1387. ſo fooliſh as well as wicked, that it ſeems probable they were the political lies of the day, invented and propagated by his enemies, to inflame the popular hatred againſt him and his favourites. Sometimes it was reported, that the king and his miniſters deſigned to ſeize the third part of every man's perſonal eſtate, or to impoſe a heavy tax on every man's head of 6s. 8d. At other times it was rumoured, that Richard intended to poiſon the duke of Glouceſter at a city-feaſt, or to murder him in an ambuſcade. One day it was given out, that the king was bringing over an army of Bohemians and Germans, and the next, an army of French, to cut the throats of all his enemies[84]. Theſe reports were circulated with great induſtry by the prevailing party, and rendered the unhappy Richard, and his few adherents, the objects of univerſal deteſtation.

Intended invaſion from France prevented.

While this was the ſtate of affairs in England, the French were preparing for an invaſion. But when all things were in readineſs, an event happened which entirely blaſted the deſign. De Cliſſon conſtable of France, who was to command in this expedition, had lately paid a great ſum of money for the ranſom of John de Blois, pretender to the duchy of Brittany, who had been many years a priſoner in England. This raiſed the jealouſy of the reigning duke of Brittany, who ſeized De Cliſſon when he was ready to embark, and threw

[84] Froiſſart, l. 3. c. 77, 78. Walſing. p. 324.

him

him into priſon [85]. In the mean time the earl of Arundel, admiral of England, put to ſea with a gallant fleet; and falling in with a large fleet of French, Flemiſh, and Spaniſh merchantmen, eſcorted by ſome ſhips of war, on March 24, he obtained a complete victory, took a hundred and ſixty ſail, loaded chiefly with wine, and brought them into England [86]. A.D. 1387.

Proceedings of the duke of Lancaſter in Spain.

The duke of Lancaſter, with his ſon-in-law the king of Portugal, took the field about the beginning of May, and made themſelves maſters of ſome places in the kingdom of Leon. But the king of Caſtile having received a reinforcement of French troops, appeared at the head of an army, and put a ſtop to their further progreſs. The heat of the climate was more deſtructive to the Engliſh army than their enemies; and two thirds of them are ſaid to have died this ſummer of a contagious diſtemper. The duke himſelf was ſeized with the ſame diſtemper, and brought to the point of death. After his recovery, deſpairing of the conqueſt of Caſtile, he retired, with his family, and the ſhattered remains of his army, into Guienne [87].

Conſultation at Nottingham.

King Richard, to divert his chagrin, and perhaps with ſome other views, ſet out with a ſlender retinue, about the beginning of Auguſt, on a progreſs into the north. At Nottingham, on the 25th of that month, he held a council of his con-

85 Froiſſart, l. 3. c. 75, 76.
86 Walſing. p. 396. Knyghton, col. 2692.
87 Froiſſart, l. 3. c. 87, 88, 89. 91, 92. 94.

A.D.1387. fidents, conſiſting of the archbiſhops of York and Dublin, the biſhops of Durham, Chicheſter, and Bangor, the duke of Ireland, the earl of Suffolk, and a few others. At this council certain queſtions were propoſed to the judges, who attended for that purpoſe, concerning the illegality of the late famous commiſſion. To theſe queſtions the judges returned anſwers in writing, under their ſeals, declaring the commiſſion illegal; and that all who adviſed, promoted, and acted under it, were guilty of treaſon, and ought to be puniſhed as traitors [88].

The king returns to London.

This tranſaction did not long remain a ſecret; for the very next day Roger Fulthorp, one of the juſtices of the common pleas, communicated it to the earl of Kent, and it ſoon reached the ears of the duke of Glouceſter, and the lords of his party, whom it ſo nearly concerned. Alarmed at this intelligence, the duke and his partiſans determined to prevent their own deſtruction, by the ruin of their enemies about the king. With this view they ſent private orders to their friends and followers to hold themſelves in readineſs to take arms at a moment's warning; and diſpatched the archbiſhop of Canterbury to perſuade the king to return to London, which, being entirely at their devotion, was the moſt proper place for executing their deſign. The archbiſhop ſucceeded in his embaſſy, and, without much difficulty, perſuaded the king and his favourites (who do not ſeem to have had the leaſt ſuſpicion of what was deſigned againſt

[88] Knyghton, col. 2693. Parl. Hiſt. vol. 1. p. 407, &c.

them)

them) to return to London. The king, accompanied by his devoted miniſters, entered that city on Monday November 10, and was received by the mayor, and a great multitude of citizens, on horſeback, and conducted to his palace [89]. A.D. 1387.

But the very next day the king received intelligence, that the duke of Glouceſter, the earls of Arundel and Warwick, were approaching, at the head of an army of 40,000 men [90]. He did not long remain ignorant of their intentions; for theſe lords, being arrived with their army at Haringay park, ſent a letter to the lord mayor of London, on Wedneſday the 13th, deſiring, or rather commanding, him to make proclamation in the city, that their deſign in taking arms was to bring the traitors about the king's perſon, viz. the archbiſhop of York, the duke of Ireland, the earl of Suffolk, Robert Treſilian falſe juſtice, and Nicholas Brembre falſe knight, to juſtice [91]. The next day the three lords were joined at Waltham-croſs by the earl of Derby and the earl marſhal; and theſe five made a formal appeal, or accuſation of high treaſon, againſt the five miniſters above mentioned, before the prelates of Canterbury and Ely, who notified this appeal that ſame day to the king at Weſtminſter [92]. Duke of Glouceſter and his partiſans take arms.

It was now high time for thoſe five who ſaw their deſtruction was determined, to conſult their own preſervation. The duke of Ireland made his Glouceſter, &c. introduced to the king in Weſtminſter-hall.

[89] Knyghton, col. 2696. [90] Id. col. 2699.
[91] Id. ibid. Brady Hiſt. vol. 2. p. 368.
[92] Knyghton, col. 2700.

eſcape

A.D.1387. eſcape into the north, and the reſt concealed themſelves in different places. After this the lords appellants, as the duke of Glouceſter] and the four earls were called, agreed to appear before the king in Weſtminſter-hall, on Sunday the 17th, to make known their grievances and deſires[93]. On that day the lords entered the city with extreme caution, and pretended to be under the greateſt apprehenſions of being ſurpriſed and deſtroyed by their enemies. They ſpent ſo much time in ſearching York-houſe, the Mews, and other places, for ambuſhes, that the king waited two hours in Weſtminſter-hall, ſeated on his throne, before they appeared. When they approached the throne, they fell upon their knees, and, with great profeſſions of loyalty, declared, that in taking up arms they had no deſign againſt his royal perſon or authority, but only to bring the five traitors whom they had accuſed to puniſhment. The king, taking each of them by the hand, raiſed them from their knees, and aſſured them, that the perſons appealed ſhould be brought before the next parliament, which was to meet on February 3, to undergo their trial[94].

Duke of Ireland defeated.

In the mean time, the duke of Ireland was endeavouring to raiſe an army for his own defence, and the deliverance of his royal maſter; and, by the aſſiſtance of ſome gentlemen in Cheſhire, he got together a body of 5000 men, with which he

93 Knyghton, col. 2701. Walſing. p. 330.
94 Id. p. 331. Rymer, vol. 7. p. 567.

begun

begun his march towards London, in hopes that his forces would increaſe as he advanced. But the confederated lords immediately put themſelves at the head of their army, reinforced by a great body of Londoners, and marched northwards. The two armies met, December 20, at Radcot-bridge in Oxfordſhire, where a battle was fought, in which the troops of the duke of Ireland were entirely routed, the duke eſcaping with great difficulty, by paſſing the river Iſis on horſeback, at the hazard of his life [95]. A.D.1387.

The duke of Glouceſter, with the lords of his party, marched back to London with their victorious army, and arrived at Clerkenwell December 26, where they were met by the lord mayor, who delivered to them the keys of the city. That ſame day they had a conference with the king in the tower, who being now wholly in their power, gave orders for committing to priſon, or baniſhing from court, every perſon whom they thought fit to name. About fourteen lords, knights, and gentlemen, were committed on this occaſion to different caſtles, to take their trials at the approaching parliament; two biſhops, three lords, and three ladies, were baniſhed from court; not ſo much as one perſon being left about the king for whom he had the leaſt affection, or in whom he could place the ſmalleſt confidence [96]. The king's attendants impriſoned or baniſhed.

On Monday February 3, that famous parliament, ſo much dreaded by the one party, and A.D.1388. Parliament.

[95] Knyghton, col. 2703.

[96] Id. col. 2705, 2706.

A.D.1388. deſired by the other, met at Weſtminſter. The ſeſſion was opened by a ſpeech from the lord chancellor, the biſhop of Ely, declaring the deſign of the meeting to be, "To conſider "by what means the troubles in the kingdom, "for want of good government, might be ended, "the king better adviſed, the realm better go-"verned, miſdemeanors more ſeverely puniſhed, "good men better encouraged, the ſea beſt kept, "the marches of Scotland beſt defended, and "Guienne preſerved; and how the charges of all "theſe things might be moſt eaſily borne[97]." The five lords appellants then exhibited their accuſation of high treaſon againſt Alexander archbiſhop of York, Robert de Vere duke of Ireland, Michael de la Pole earl of Suffolk, ſir Robert Treſilian, and ſir Nicholas Brembre, digeſted into thirty-nine articles[98]. Theſe articles are very long, containing many general charges againſt the accuſed—of engroſſing the royal favour—giving the king ill advice—obtaining grants for themſelves and their friends from the crown, and the like. The famous opinion of the judges at Nottingham was not forgotten; every thing was much exaggerated, and expreſſed with the greateſt acrimony. The accuſed being called ſeveral days, and not appearing, and the lords having taken ſome time to examine the articles, they, on Thurſday 13th of February, condemned all the

97 Parliament. Hiſt. vol. 1. p. 411.

98 Brady Hiſt. vol. 2. p. 372—383. Parliament. Hiſt. vol. 1. p. 414—427.

five

five to be executed as traitors, and their eſtates confiſcated [99]. A.D. 1388.

The duke of Ireland had made his eſcape into Holland, where he died about four years after. The earl of Suffolk alſo got beyond ſeas, and died at Paris this ſame year [100]. The archbiſhop of York was taken at Shields; but his enemies not daring to execute one of his character, he was allowed to eſcape, and ſpent the ſhort remainder of his days in Flanders, as curate of a ſmall pariſh. Sir Robert Treſilian and ſir Nicholas Brembre being taken, were executed, the one on the 19th, the other on the 20th of February [101]. Deſtruction of the king's favourites.

To pay a compliment to the king, when they were thus deſtroying his moſt zealous friends, the prevailing party thought fit to have it declared in parliament, that nothing contained in the articles againſt the five condemned traitors ſhould reflect any diſhonour on the king, on account of his youth, and the innocency of his royal perſon [102]. Compliment to the king.

On the firſt day of the parliament, Sir Robert Belknap, chief juſtice of the common pleas, ſir Roger Fulthorp, ſir John Holt, ſir William Burgh, judges of the ſame court, ſir John Carey, chief baron of the exchequer, and John Loketon, king's ſergeant, had been taken out of the courts of Weſtminſter-hall, and committed to the tower; and on Monday March 2, they were impeached by the commons of high treaſon, for putting Judges baniſhed.

99 Parliament. Hiſt. vol. 1. p. 414—427.
100 Speed, p. 604.
101 Parliament. Hiſt. vol. 1. p. 431.
102 Id. ibid. p. 432.

A.D. 1388. their hands and ſeals to the famous queſtions and anſwers at Nottingham. The judges and ſergeant pleaded in excuſe, that they had been overawed and threatened by the archbiſhop of York, the duke of Ireland, and earl of Suffolk, to do what they had done. No regard was paid to this excuſe; and on March 6, they were all condemned to be drawn and hanged as traitors, and their eſtates confiſcated. But their lives were ſpared, at the interceſſion of the biſhops; and they were ſent into Ireland, and there confined to different towns for life [103].

Others condemned and executed.

On Tueſday March 3, John Blake and Thomas Uſk were impeached of high treaſon by the commons; the former for drawing up the queſtions propoſed to the judges at Nottingham, and the latter for procuring himſelf to be made under-ſheriff of Middleſex, with a deſign to arreſt the duke of Glouceſter and other lords. They both pleaded, that they acted by the king's command. But, without any regard to this plea, they were condemned on March 4 to be drawn and hanged as traitors; and this ſentence was executed upon them that ſame day [104].

Biſhop of Chicheſter baniſhed.

On Friday March 6, the biſhop of Chicheſter, the king's confeſſor, was impeached of high treaſon by the commons, for being preſent when the queſtions were propoſed to the judges at Nottingham, and for perſuading and threatening them to

[103] Parliament. Hiſt. vol. 1. p. 432. Rymer, vol. 7. p. 591.
[104] Parliament. Hiſt. vol. 1. p. 434.

give

give their anſwers. He denied the laſt part of the charge with great ſolemnity, and declared, that the judges had acted on that occaſion with perfect freedom. But notwithſtanding this defence, he was condemned to the puniſhment of a traitor, his eſtate confiſcated, and the temporalities of his ſee to be ſeized into the king's hands. But his life was ſpared on account of his office, and he was baniſhed into Ireland [105]. A.D. 1388.

The vindictive ſpirit of the duke of Glouceſter and his party was not yet ſatisfied; for on March 12, ſir Simon Burley, ſir John Beauchamp, ſir John Saliſbury, and ſir James Berners, were all impeached of high treaſon; and a charge, conſiſting of ſixteen articles, exhibited againſt them by the commons. The chief crimes alleged againſt them in theſe articles were, their being privy to the deſigns of the five perſons firſt condemned by this parliament; their poſſeſſing too great a ſhare in the favour and confidence of the king, and giving him ill advice. They all pleaded, Not guilty; and the holidays now approaching, the parliament adjourned on Friday March 20, to Monday April 14. This famous parliament was by this time become little better than a party confederacy, ready to gratify all the paſſions of the duke of Glouceſter and the other lords; for on the day of the adjournment all the members of both houſes took a ſolemn oath, to ſtand by Thomas duke of Glouceſter, Henry earl of Derby; More perſons accuſed.

[105] Parliament. Hiſt. vol. 1. p. 437.

A.D.1388. Richard earl of Arundel and Surrey, Thomas earl of Warwick, and Thomas earl marſhal, to maintain and ſupport them with all their power, and to live and die with them againſt all men [106].

During the receſs of parliament, great endeavours were uſed to ſave the lives of the four impeached knights, particularly of ſir Simon Burley. This gentleman had been greatly eſteemed by Edward III. and the Black Prince, by whom he had been appointed tutor to Richard. He was much beloved by the king, whom he had conſtantly attended from his infancy; and having conducted the queen into England, he ſtood high in her favour. This princeſs, who was commonly called *the good queen Anne*, fell on her knees before the duke of Glouceſter, and with the moſt earneſt importunity begged the life of Burley [107]. But all in vain; the duke was inexorable; and Burley being brought into parliament on May 5, was found guilty of high treaſon, and beheaded that ſame day on Tower-hill. On the 12th May, the other three knights had the ſame ſentence pronounced and executed upon them, Beauchamp and Berners being beheaded, and Saliſbury hanged [108].

Grants. The parliament had, in the intervals of theſe trials, found leiſure to grant the king three ſhillings on every ton of wine imported, a ſhilling in the

[106] Brady Hiſt. vol. 2. Append. No. 106.
[107] Vita Richardi II. p. 102.
[108] Parliament. Hiſt. vol. 1. p. 436.

pound

pound on all merchandiſe, except wool, one half-tenth, and one half-fifteenth; and on June 2, they continued the high duties on wool, wool-fells, and leather [109]. The duke of Glouceſter, having taken this dreadful vengeance on his enemies, did not forget to reward himſelf and his friends; for he obtained a vote for 20,000l. to himſelf and the other lords appellants, out of the ſubſidy on wool; and then this parliament was diſſolved June 4, after a ſeſſion of four months, the longeſt that had ever been in England. A.D. 1388.

The ſentiments of the people of thoſe times were much divided concerning the conduct of this famous parliament. The prevailing party called it "the parliament that wrought wonders;" but others gave it the appellation of "the parliament "without mercy [110]." It cannot be denied, that this aſſembly declared many things to be high treaſon, and puniſhed them as ſuch, which bore no reſemblance to that great offence; never reflecting, when inflamed with party-rage, that they were making precedents which might one day prove fatal to themſelves, or their poſterity. Obſervation.

It was very happy for the Engliſh at this time, that the king of France was ſo much engaged in emancipating himſelf from the dominion of his uncles, that he could take no advantage of their civil diſſenſions. But the Scots made ſeveral incurſions into the north of England. in this ſpring Battle of Otterburn.

[109] Rymer, vol. 7. p. 620. Cotton's Abridg. p. 332.
[110] Knyghton, col. 2701.

A.D.1388. and ſummer; and an army of them, commanded by the earl of Douglas, beſieged Newcaſtle. Henry lord Percy, better known in hiſtory by the name of *Hotſpur*, obliged the Scots to raiſe the ſiege; and following them to Otterburn, a bloody battle was there fought Auguſt 10, in which earl Douglas was ſlain on the one ſide, and on the other Hotſpur and his brother Ralph Percy were taken priſoners; and both nations claimed the victory [111]. The earl of Arundel, admiral of England, put to ſea this ſummer with a gallant fleet, made ſome deſcents on the coaſt of France, and took a conſiderable number of ſhips [112].

Tranſactions of the duke of Lancaſter.

The duke of Lancaſter ſpent this whole year in Guienne, where he was more ſucceſsful in his political intrigues, than he had been the year before in his warlike enterpriſes. The duke of Berry, uncle to the king of France, paid his addreſſes to the princeſs Catharine, only child of the duke of Lancaſter, and his wife Conſtance, heireſs of Caſtile. The king of Caſtile was greatly alarmed at the news of this courtſhip, apprehending, that if this marriage took effect, it would produce a peace between France and England; and that theſe two powerful nations would unite in pulling him down from his throne, and placing the duke of Berry in his room. To prevent this danger, he cauſed very advantageous propoſals to be made to the duke of Lancaſter for a marriage between

[111] Knyghton, col. 2728, 2729. Froiſſart, l. 3. c. 123—129.
[112] Id. ibid. c. 116, 117. 133.

Catharine

Catharine and his eldeſt ſon Henry prince of Caſtile. The duke, wiſely conſidering that this was the moſt direct way of putting an end to all diſputes about the crown of Caſtile, as well as of gaining great advantages to himſelf, accepted of theſe propoſals; by which he was to receive 200,000 crowns for the expences of his expedition, together with an annuity of 10,000 florins to himſelf, and one of an equal ſum to his wife Conſtance, during their reſpective lives [113]. A.D.1388.

The kings of England and France being both heartily wearied of that war which had ſo long ſubſiſted between the two nations, ſent their plenipotentiaries to Lenlinghen, who concluded a truce till Auguſt 16, A. D. 1392; in which all the allies of both crowns were included [114]. A.D.1389. Truce with France.

Though Richard had now ſubmitted about a year to the dictates of the duke of Glouceſter, who ruled every thing at his pleaſure, he ſecretly reſolved to throw off the yoke as ſoon as poſſible. In conſequence of this reſolution, when a very numerous council was aſſembled, May 3, the king entered, and, in a reſolute tone, demanding to know, What age he was? It was anſwered, in his twenty-ſecond year. Am I not then at age, replied he, to take the reins of government into my own hands, and no longer to remain under the management of tutors? The Glouceſterian party were ſtruck dumb by this unexpected blow; and Richard aſſumes the government.

[113] Froiſſart, l. 3. c. 138. 140. Walſing. p. 347. Rymer, vol. 7. p. 603.

[114] Rymer, vol. 7. p. 623.

Richard,

A.D.1389. Richard, proceeding with ſpirit, took the great ſeal from Arundel archbiſhop of York, and gave it to William of Wickham, biſhop of Wincheſter; he turned out the duke of Glouceſter, the earls of Warwick and Arundel, and all who had been brought into office by them, and put others in their room [115]. Thus was this triumphant party diveſted in a moment of that authority which they had obtained with ſo much labour, and had endeavoured to ſecure by ſhedding ſo much blood.

Wiſe adminiſtration. The firſt ſteps which Richard took after this total change in the adminiſtration were very prudent. He iſſued a proclamation, May 16, to inform all his ſubjects, that he had taken the government into his own hands; and that they might now expect to enjoy greater tranquillity than they had formerly done. Soon after he publiſhed a general pardon, and remitted the half-tenth and half-fifteenth which had been granted by the laſt parliament. Theſe gentle meaſures ſo quieted the minds and gained the affections of the people, that the diſcarded party found it impoſſible to raiſe the leaſt diſturbance [116].

Duke of Lancaſter returns to England. While things were in this ſituation, the duke of Lancaſter returned into England in November, after an abſence of more than three years [117]. Soon after his arrival, Richard held a great council of peers at Reading; where the duke of Glou-

[115] Vita R. II. p. 108. Rymer, vol. 7. p. 616. 618. 620. Walſing. p. 337. Knyghton, col. 2734.

[116] Rym. Fœd. vol. 7. p. 620.

[117] Walſing. p. 342.

ceſter,

ceſter, and the lords of his party, were brought to court by Lancaſter, and ſeemingly, at leaſt, reconciled to the king by his mediation [118]. A.D. 1389.

The flames of party which had raged with ſo much violence, being now a little ſmothered, a parliament met in great tranquillity, January 17, at Weſtminſter [119]. The biſhop of Wincheſter, lord chancellor, opened the ſeſſion with a ſpeech, in which he declared, that the king being now of full age, was determined to govern his ſubjects in peace and quiet, and to do juſtice to all, both of the clergy and laity. He put them alſo in mind, that the nation being ſurrounded with enemies, it would be neceſſary either to make peace or provide for war [120]. On the fourth day of the parliament, the lord chancellor delivered the great ſeal, and the biſhop of St. David's the treaſurer, delivered the keys of the exchequer, to the king before both houſes; and all the other members of the council begged leave to reſign their ſeveral offices, which was granted. After all theſe reſignations, it was declared in full parliament, that if any one had any complaint to make againſt any of theſe perſons, they might now do it with all freedom. It was anſwered by both lords and commons, "That they knew nothing amiſs of any of "them, and that they had behaved themſelves "well in their reſpective offices." After this honourable teſtimony in their favour, the king re- A.D. 1390. Parliament.

[118] Walſing. p. 342.
[119] Parliament. Hiſt. vol. 1. p. 442.
[120] Id. ibid.

delivered

A.D. 1390. delivered the ſeal to the biſhop of Wincheſter, and the keys of the exchequer to the biſhop of St. David's, and reſtored all the reſt to their former offices, at the ſame time admitting the dukes of Lancaſter and Glouceſter into the council; but with this proteſtation, that he ſtill had it in his power to retain or diſmiſs any of theſe counſellors at his pleaſure [121].

Grants. The king's uncles had by this time paid their court ſo effectually to their royal nephew, that they obtained the moſt valuable favours from him in this parliament. The duke of Lancaſter was created duke of Aquitaine for life, with a grant of all the revenues of that duchy. Edward, eldeſt ſon of the duke of York, was created earl of Rutland, with a grant of 800 marks a-year to ſupport that dignity. The commons granted the king forty ſhillings on every ſack of wool exported, and five marks on every laſt of leather, one third of which to ſupply the king's preſent occaſions, and the remainder to be reſerved as a fund in caſe of war [122].

Parliament. In another parliament, which met November 12, this ſubſidy on wool, wool-fells, and leather, was continued for three years; and one half-tenth, and one half-fifteenth, were granted to defray the expences of the duke of Lancaſter, and other plenipotentiaries, who were to be ſent to Amiens to negotiate a peace with France [123]. In this parlia-

[121] Parliament. Hiſt. vol. i. p. 442.
[122] Cotton Abridg. p. 332. [123] Knyghton, col. 2739.

ment the king confirmed a grant which he had formerly made, to the dukes of York and Glouceſter, of 1000l. a-year [124]. To repair the breaches which had been made in the conſtitution during the late commotions, it was declared by this parliament, "That the preſent king ſhould be as free, "and enjoy all the prerogatives that any of his "noble progenitors, formerly kings of England, "had enjoyed [125]." Nay, ſo good an underſtanding ſubſiſted at this time between the king and his people, that on the laſt day of this parliament both houſes returned their humble thanks to the king, for his good government, and for the great affection and zeal he had continually ſhewn for the good of his people; and the king thanked them for their grants [126]. A.D. 1390.

Nothing happened during this whole year to diſturb that happy tranquillity which England now enjoyed. A parliament which met November 3, at Weſtminſter, granted the king ample ſupplies, and confirmed all his royal prerogatives by a ſtatute [127]. A.D. 1391. Parliament.

As the truce between England and France, and their allies on both ſides, was to expire this year in Auguſt, great endeavours were uſed to bring about a peace before that time. For this purpoſe conferences were held at Amiens in the ſpring, which produced only a prolongation of the truce to Michaelmas A. D. 1393 [128]. A.D. 1392. Truce.

[124] Parliament. Hiſt. vol. 1. p. 448. [125] Id. ibid.
[126] Id. ibid. [127] Id. ibid.
[128] Ryiner. Fœd. t. 7. p. 722. Walſing. p. 347.

In

A.D 1392. Quarrel between the court and city.

In the mean time, the city of London fell under the heavy displeasure of the court on account of some tumults, in one of which the populace assaulted the palace of the bishop of Salisbury, who was high treasurer. For these offences the mayor and sheriffs were imprisoned, and the city was deprived of its liberties. But the citizens having submitted to the king's pleasure, and implored his mercy, he entered the city in a kind of triumph, August 21, and was received with great demonstrations of respect and joy. Soon after this all their charters were restored and confirmed, at the intercession of the queen [129]. But the king's severity seems to have made a deeper impression on the minds of the citizens than his mercy.

A.D.1393. Truce.

Conferences for a peace between France and England were held at Lenlinghen, in the spring of this year; and, with some interruptions, continued to May 27, A. D. 1394, when a truce for four years was concluded [130].

A.D.1394. Expedition into Ireland.

A temporary peace being now established, Richard resolved upon an expedition into Ireland, to settle the affairs of that kingdom, as well as to divert his grief for the loss of his beloved consort, the good queen Anne, who died at Shene, on Whitsunday this year [131]. All the English who had estates in Ireland were commanded, by a proclamation, to be in that kingdom by

[129] Walsing. p. 348, &c. [130] Rymer, Fœd. t. 7. p. 770,
[131] Knyghton, col. 2741. Walsing. p. 350.

September

September 8 [132]. Having provided a fleet and army, the king ſailed from Milford-haven about Michaelmas, and ſoon after landed in Ireland, where he met with little oppoſition: for the Iriſh chieftains, finding themſelves unable to make effectual reſiſtance, came in and made their ſubmiſſions; and Richard, who was naturally generous, received them kindly, and loaded them with preſents. Having held a parliament, and ſpent the winter in Dublin, he returned into England in the ſpring A. D. 1395 [133]. A.D.1394.

A.D.1395. Parliament.

While the king was in Ireland, the duke of York, who had been appointed regent, called a parliament, which met at Weſtminſter 28th January, and granted a tenth from the clergy, and a fifteenth from the laity, for defraying the expences of the Iriſh expedition. But to this grant the parliament annexed a proteſtation, "That it "was not made *de jure*, but out of good will "and affection to the king [134]."

Embaſſy to France.

Richard, having been about a year a widower, reſolved upon a ſecond marriage, and ſent a ſplendid embaſſy to the court of France, to demand the princeſs Iſabella, eldeſt daughter of Charles VI. a child between ſeven and eight years of age [135]. He was probably determined to this unequal match by the hopes of accelerating the peace between the two nations, and of procuring

132 Knyghton, col. 2741. Walſing. p. 350.
133 Walſing. p. 351. 134 Parliament. Hiſt. vol. 1. p. 454.
135 Rymer. Fœd. t. 7. p. 802.

A.D.1395. a powerful ſupport againſt his uncles, particularly the duke of Glouceſter, of whoſe factious ſpirit he was in continual dread.

A.D.1396. The king's marriage. The Engliſh ambaſſadors at the court of France having ſettled all the articles of the intended marriage, the contract was confirmed by Charles VI. at Paris, March 9, A. D. 1396 [136]. At the ſame time and place, a prolongation of the truce between France and England, for twenty-five years, was ratified [137]. As the king of England and the French princeſs were within the prohibited degrees of conſanguinity, a diſpenſation from the pope was neceſſary; which retarded the marriage till November 1, when it was celebrated with great pomp in the church of St Nicholas, at Calais, by the archbiſhop of Canterbury [138].

A.D.1397. Duke of Glouceſter, &c. appreheded. Thomas of Woodſtock, duke of Glouceſter, the youngeſt of king Richard's three uncles, was a prince of a covetous, ambitious, proud, and turbulent diſpoſition. Though he had received grants of immenſe value from his nephew, he was conſtantly engaged in factious machinations, to diſturb his government. He had been at the head of that party which had extorted a commiſſion to do what they pleaſed, A. D. 1386, and had made ſuch a cruel uſe of their power, by deſtroying all the king's miniſters, judges, and ſervants. He had oppoſed the French marriage and truce while they were in agitation, and exclaimed loudly againſt

136 Rymer. Fœd. t. 7. p. 820. 137 Id. ibid. p. 821, &c.
138 Id. ibid. p. 846. Walſing. p. 353.

them

them after they were concluded. He ſeldom came to court, but to inſult his ſovereign, or to council, but to thwart his meaſures [139]. He had ſeveral meetings in the ſpring and ſummer of this year with the principal prelates and nobles of his party; in which, it is ſaid, the moſt daring deſigns were formed againſt the government, if not againſt the perſon of the king [140]. Richard was not ignorant of his uncle's diſaffection, and began to be under uneaſy apprehenſions about its conſequences. Theſe apprehenſions were much increaſed by his two uterine brothers, the earls of Kent and Huntington, and by his other confidents, who earneſtly intreated him to prevent his own deſtruction and that of all his friends, by ſeizing the duke of Glouceſter, with the earls of Arundel and Warwick, his chief accomplices [141]. To this the king at length gave his conſent. The duke of Glouceſter was ſurpriſed at his caſtle of Pleſhy in Eſſex, hurried on board a ſhip, and conveyed to Calais, as a place of the greateſt ſecurity. The two earls were ſeized at the ſame time in London, and committed to priſon [142]. A.D. 1397.

As ſoon as thoſe great perſons were in cuſtody, a council was held at Nottingham, Auguſt 1, to conſider in what manner they were to be proſecuted. At this council an appeal of treaſon was brought by ſix earls and two lords, againſt the duke of Council at Nottingham.

139 Fabian. Chronicle, vol. 2. p. 149. Froiſſart, v. 4. c. 86.
140 Id. ibid. 141 Rymer, vol. 8. p. 6, 7.
142 Walſing. p. 354. Froiſſart, l. 4. c. 90.

A.D.1397. Glouceſter, the earls of Arundel and Warwick, to which they were to anſwer at the next parliament, which was ſummoned to meet at Weſtminſter September 17.

Parliament. Great preparations were made for this famous parliament, which was to determine the fate of a prince of the blood, and of ſome of the moſt powerful nobles of the kingdom. A wooden building, of great extent, was erected near Weſtminſter-hall, for the reception of ſo numerous an aſſembly [143]. Six hundred men at arms, and two hundred archers, were raiſed for a guard to the king; and all the lords came attended with ſuch prodigious retinues, that they not only filled all the lodgings in London and its ſuburbs, but in all the towns and villages within ten or twelve miles around [144]. In the ſecond ſeſſion, the clergy of both provinces appointed ſir Thomas Percy their procurator in the intended trials, at which the canons of the church did not permit them to be preſent [145]. In the ſame ſeſſion, the commiſſion of regency, in the tenth year of the king's reign, was declared to have been traiterouſly made; and all the pardons which had been granted to thoſe who had acted under it were cancelled. Next day the commons impeached Thomas Arundel archbiſhop of Canterbury of treaſon; and the day after he was found guilty, and baniſhed the kingdom [146]. In

[143] Stow's Chron. p. 315.
[144] Rymer. Fœd. tom. 8. p. 14. Holinſhed, Chron. p. 490.
[145] Walſing. p. 354. [146] Id. ibid.

the next ſeſſion, the lords appellants gave in their articles of accuſation againſt the earl of Arundel, which conſiſted of the ſeveral things he had done in procuring and executing the above commiſſion. After a very ſhort trial, he was condemned, carried directly from the bar to Tower-hill, and there beheaded, September 21 [147]. On the ſame day, a mandate was iſſued by the king and his council in parliament, to Thomas earl marſhal, governor of Calais, to bring the duke of Glouceſter to the bar of the houſe as ſoon as poſſible, to anſwer to the accuſation that had been given in againſt him by the lords appellants [148]. To this mandate the earl marſhal returned this anſwer, September 24, "That he could not bring the ſaid duke before "the king and his council in that parliament; for "that, being in his cuſtody in the king's priſon at "Calais, he there died." The lords appellants and the houſe of commons then demanded, that the late duke of Glouceſter ſhould be declared to have been a traitor, and all his eſtates and honours forfeited; which was accordingly done [149]. In the interval between the above mandate and the return, the earl of Warwick was tried, and found guilty of treaſon; but the king ſpared his life, and conſigned him to perpetual confinement in the iſle of Man [150]. The four great objects of the king's diſpleaſure being thus diſpoſed of, the commons in- A.D. 1397.

[147] Walſing. p. 354. 355.
[148] Rymeri Fœd. t. 8. p. 15.
[149] Parliament. Hiſt. vol. 1. p. 471.
[150] Walſing. p. 355.

A.D.1397. tercedes for favour to the other prelates and lords who had been named in that famous commiſſion, for which the four already tried had been condemned [151].

Duke of Glouceſter murdered.

The time, place, and other circumſtances of the death of the duke of Glouceſter, excited ſtrong ſuſpicions that he had been murdered; and theſe ſuſpicions, it muſt be confeſſed, were highly probable. The king and his miniſters, it was ſaid, not daring to bring a prince ſo nearly related to the crown, and ſo exceedingly popular (particularly in London), to a public trial and execution, had employed aſſaſſins to murder him in priſon: a policy equally weak and wicked, which juſtly brought much odium on the king and his confidential ſervants. The preciſe time and manner of Glouceſter's death were never certainly known, and are differently related by different authors [152].

The king was ſo well pleaſed with this ſeſſion of parliament, which had been perfectly ſubſervient to his will, that on the laſt day of it (September 29), he advanced the earls of Derby, Rutland, Kent, Huntington, and Nottingham, to be dukes of Hereford, Albemarle, Surrey, Exeter, and Norfolk; the earl of Somerſet to be marquis of Dorſet, the lords Diſpenſer, Nevile, Percy, and Scrope, to be earls of Glouceſter, Weſtmoreland, Worceſter, and Wiltſhire; and then adjourned the

[151] Parliament. Hiſt. vol. 1. p. 478.
[152] Froiſſart, t. 4. c. 50. p. 292. Walſing. p. 355.

parliament

parliament to the 27th January, to be then held at Shrewſbury [153]. A.D. 1397.

When the parliament met at Shrewſbury, proceeding in the ſame tract of ſubmiſſion to the royal pleaſure, it reverſed all the acts of that famous parliament, A. D. 1388, in which the duke of Glouceſter's party had predominated, and had executed vengeance on all their oppoſers. The anſwers of the judges, for which they had been condemned as traitors, were now declared to be the anſwers of good and loyal ſubjects [154]. Several perſons who had been of the duke of Glouceſter's party were condemned and forfeited; but their lives were ſpared. The houſe of commons granted very liberal ſupplies; and ſtill further to manifeſt their affection to the king, they petitioned the houſe of lords to contrive ſome method to ſecure the tranſactions of that parliament from ſuch changes as had happened to thoſe of former parliaments. After deliberating among themſelves, and conſulting with the judges, all the lords, ſpiritual and temporal, took a ſolemn oath on the croſs of Canterbury, never to ſuffer any of the tranſactions of that parliament to be changed; while all the members of the houſe of commons held up their hands, to ſignify their taking the ſame oath. The king, to crown the whole, procured a bull from the pope, to confirm all the acts of that parliament, which he cauſed to be publicly read in all the chief cities A.D. 1398. Parliament at Shrewſbury.

153 Parliament. Hiſt. vol. 1. p. 479.

154 Ruffhead's Statutes, vol 1. p. 419, 420.

A.D.1398. of the kingdom [155]. But it ſoon appeared, that theſe were feeble ſecurities againſt the torrent of faction, which in thoſe times ran, ſometimes on one ſide and ſometimes on another, with ſuch violence, that it levelled every mound, and overwhelmed all that ſtood in its way.

Quarrel between the dukes of Hereford and Norfolk.

In the time of this parliament, a quarrel broke out between the dukes of Hereford and Norfolk, which was attended with the moſt important and unexpected conſequences. On the laſt day of January, and of the parliament, the duke of Hereford preſented a ſchedule to the king, which he ſaid contained an account of certain ſlanderous words which the duke of Norfolk had ſpoken to him of his majeſty [156]. This ſchedule being read, the lords and commons referred the determination of that affair to the king, and a committee of twelve lords and ſix commoners, which the two houſes had that day choſen, and inveſted with parliamentary powers [157].

Dukes of Hereford and Norfolk baniſhed.

After this famous parliament was diſſolved, the king held ſeveral deliberations with the parliamentary commiſſioners, on the diſpute between the dukes of Hereford and Norfolk. At length, when the one continued to deny what the other affirmed, it was reſolved, that this controverſy ſhould be determined by the laws of chivalry, in a ſingle combat between the contending parties; and that this combat ſhould be fought at Coventry, September

[155] Walſingham, p. 356.
[156] Parliament. Hiſt. vol. 1. p. 490.
[157] Id. ibid.

16,

16, before the king and the committee of parliament. But when the two noble combatants had entered the lists, and were ready to engage, the king interposed, and by the advice of the parliamentary commissioners, pronounced the following sentence: "That the duke of Hereford should "be banished the kingdom for ten years, to depart "on or before the 13th of October next;—that "the duke of Norfolk should void the realm for "term of life, and that he should be out of the "kingdom by the 20th of October next [158]." Both the dukes, before their departure, obtained letters-patent from the king, with consent of the committee of parliament, impowering them to constitute certain persons their attornies, for receiving in their name any inheritance that might fall to them during their exile [159]. This transaction, sufficiently mysterious in itself, is strangely misrepresented by sir John Froissart, a contemporary historian, with a view to exculpate the duke of Hereford (afterwards Henry IV.), and to blacken the characters of the king and of the duke of Norfolk [160]. A.D. 1398.

The king, at the conclusion of the great parliament (as it was called), had granted a general indemnity to all his subjects, for all treasons, &c. of which they had been guilty; but none were to enjoy the benefit of this indemnity, who did not take Discontents against the government.

[158] Walsing. p. 356. Parliament. Hist. vol. 1. p. 494.
[159] Rymeri Fœd. t. 8. p. 49. 51.
[160] Froissart, t. 4. c. 92. p. 296.

A.D.1398. out charters of pardon before St. John's day, A. D. 1398 [161]. Many having neglected to do this, the courtiers, and particularly the parliamentary commiſſioners, extorted great ſums of money from them; which occaſioned much diſcontent with the king and his confidents [162]. Theſe diſcontents were very much increaſed by the complaints of the families and friends of the late duke of Glouceſter, and of the two baniſhed dukes of Hereford and Norfolk; and the arbitrary proceedings of the committee of parliament, who made laws, and acted in all things as if they had been a full parliament, ſtill further inflamed the minds of the people [163].

A.D.1399. Death of the duke of Lancaſter. When the nation was in this ferment, the famous John of Gaunt duke of Lancaſter died, February 3, A. D. 1399 [164]. By this event, a prodigious acceſſion of wealth and power fell to his only ſon Henry of Bolingbroke, the baniſhed duke of Hereford, to the peaceable poſſeſſion of which he ought to have been admitted by his attorney, according to the tenor of his letters-patent [165]. But the king and committee of parliament, contrary to the plaineſt dictates of equity and prudence, on March 18, declared theſe letters null and void, and ſeized all the great eſtates of the late duke of Lancaſter. This flagrant act of tyranny and op-

161 Parliament. Hiſt. p. 487.
162 T. Otterbourne, Chron. p. 199.
163 Ruffhead's Statutes, vol. 1. p. 422, &c.
164 T. Otterbourne, p. 197.
165 Rymer. Fœd. t. 8. p. 49. Walſing. p. 357.

preſſion

preſſion excited univerſal indignation againſt the authors of it, and compaſſion for Henry now duke of Lancaſter. A.D. 1399.

The infatuated Richard, after he had excited ſuch general diſcontent among his ſubjects, was ſo imprudent as to leave England, and to carry with him all the great men on whoſe attachment he could depend [166]. Having collected great ſums of money, by means which ſtill further increaſed the diſaffection of his people, and conſtituted his uncle the duke of York regent of the kingdom, he ſailed from Milford-haven about the end of May, and ſoon after landed in Ireland with a powerful army [167]. The deſign of this moſt unſeaſonable expedition was, to revenge the death of Roger Mortimer earl of March, the preſumptive heir of his crown, and to reduce that kingdom to a more perfect ſubjection. But he was not allowed time to make any great progreſs in the execution of that deſign. Expedition into Ireland.

Henry of Bolingbroke was at the court of France when he received intelligence of his father's death, and of the revocation of his letters-patent; and he ſoon after received invitations from his numerous and powerful friends in England, to come over and vindicate his rights to the eſtate of Lancaſter [168]. Encouraged by theſe invitations, and the news of Richard's expedition into Ireland, he reſolved to return into England; and having obtained a few ſhips, and a ſmall number of armed men, from the Duke of Lancaſter lands in England.

[166] Walſing. p. 557. Rymeri Fœd. t. 8, p. 83.

[167] T. Otterbourne, Chron. p. 200.

[168] Froiſſart, tom. 4. ch. 105.

duke

A.D. 1399. duke of Brittany, he put to ſea, with the exiled archbiſhop of Canterbury and the young earl of Arundel in his company [169]. After hovering ſome days on the coaſt, he landed at Ravenſpure, in Yorkſhire, July 4; and was joined by the powerful earls of Northumberland and Weſtmoreland, with the other barons of the north, and their followers [170]. Seeing himſelf at the head of a great army, he marched ſouthward, giving out, that he was come only to recover his inheritance of Lancaſter; which brought ſuch multitudes to his ſtandard, that they ſoon amounted to ſixty thouſand men.

Agreement between the dukes of York and Lancaſter.

The duke of York, regent of the kingdom, raiſed a conſiderable army, with which he marched towards Briſtol, about which place it was expected the king would land from Ireland. By this means the armies approaching each other, a conference was held at Berkeley, on Sunday July 27, between the dukes of York and Lancaſter, and a certain number of their friends. At this conference, the duke of Lancaſter ſtill pretending that he came only for the recovery of his inheritance, an agreement was ſoon made, and he was joined by the duke of York and the greateſt part of his forces [171].

Caſtle of Briſtol ſurrendered.

The duke of Lancaſter then marched at the head of the united armies, and inveſted the caſtle of Briſtol, in which ſome of the moſt obnoxious of the king's confidents had taken ſhelter. Sir Peter Courtney governor of the caſtle, after ſome heſita-

169 Froiſſart, tom. 4. ch. 106. Walſing. p. 358.
170 Id. ibid. 171 T. Otterbourne, p. 205.

tion,

tion, agreed to ſurrender, at the command of the duke of York, as regent of the kingdom, having ſtipulated for the liberty of all the garriſon, except the earl of Wiltſhire, ſir John Buſſy, and ſir Henry Grene, the hated miniſters. Theſe three unhappy perſons being delivered to the duke of Lancaſter, were immediately beheaded at his command, without any trial [172]. A.D. 1399.

About the beginning of Auguſt, king Richard landed at Milford-haven with his troops from Ireland, intending to join the duke of York, who he believed to be at the head of an army, raiſed in his name, to ſupport his authority. But when he received intelligence that the regent and his forces had united with the duke of Lancaſter, he diſbanded his ſmall army, and retired with a few faithful friends to Conway. Here it was debated in his little council, whether he ſhould leave the kingdom, and take ſhelter in his French dominions, or open a negotiation with the duke of Lancaſter, who had not yet declared his deſigns upon the crown. The laſt and moſt imprudent of theſe meaſures was adopted, and the duke of Exeter ſent to propoſe the treaty; but was detained by the duke of Lancaſter, who diſpatched the earl of Northumberland to Conway with very moderate demands, which were readily granted. The earl then invited Richard to a perſonal conference with the duke of Lancaſter, in Flint caſtle, to finiſh the negotiation; to which the king agreed, and immediately ſet out King Richard impriſoned.

[172] T. Otterbourne, p. 205.

from

A.D. 1399. from Conway Auguſt 19, accompanied by his few remaining friends. But on the road they were ſurrounded by a body of armed men, and conducted to the caſtle of Flint as priſoners. Next day the duke of Lancaſter, after a ſhort conference (in which he ſaid he was come to aſſiſt his couſin in the government of the kingdom), conducted the king to his head-quarters at Cheſter; and from thence, by eaſy journies, to the tower of London, where he was lodged on Tueſday September 2 [173].

King Richard's reſignation.

The duke of Lancaſter, having the king in his power, no longer confined his pretenſions to the eſtate of Lancaſter, but publicly aſpired to the crown; and employed all his art to obtain it in a manner that had a plauſible appearance. When the plan was formed, it was propoſed in council by the duke of York to this purpoſe—That the king ſhould be made to ſubſcribe a reſignation of his crown; and that he ſhould alſo be depoſed by parliament, for certain crimes, that it might appear he was willing to give up his crown, and that the nation thought him unworthy of poſſeſſing it [174]. To carry this plan into execution, a parliament was ſummoned in king Richard's name, to meet at Weſtminſter September 30. On the day before the meeting of parliament, king Richard, in his chamber in the tower, before the duke of Lancaſter, with the prelates and lords of his party,

[173] T. Walſing. p. 258. T. Otterbourne, p. 208. Froiſſart, tom. 4. ch. 110. Life of Richard by a Perſon of Quality, p. 190. Carte, vol. 2. p. 634, 635.

[174] Life of Richard II. p. 191.

ſubſcribed

ſubſcribed the inſtrument of his reſignation, conceived in as clear and ſtrong terms as could be deviſed [175]. When the parliament met, this inſtrument was produced and read; and the members being aſked, if they accepted of this reſignation, anſwered in the affirmative [176]. A.D. 1399.

It was then propoſed, in order to remove all ſcruples and doubts, that certain articles, containing the crimes and errors of which king Richard had been guilty, and for which he deſerved to be depoſed, ſhould be read; which was accordingly done. To theſe articles (which were thirty-five in number) was prefixed king Richard's coronation-oath; and the deſign of the ſeveral articles was to prove, that by ſuch and ſuch acts of government he had violated that oath. Theſe articles being too long to be here inſerted, it is ſufficient to ſay, that ſome of them were falſe, ſome of them trifling, many of them exaggerated, and a few of them but too well founded: for it cannot be denied, that Richard had been guilty of many imprudent, and of ſome illegal actions [177]. Articles againſt king Richard.

Though many lords and prelates in this parliament had been loaded with benefits by king Richard, none of them had the courage or gratitude to ſpeak a word in his defence on this occaſion, except Thomas Merks, biſhop of Carliſle [178]. King Richard depoſed.

[175] Life of Richard II. p. 195. Otterbourne, p. 211.

[176] T. Walſing. p. 359. [177] Knyghton, col. 2746—2756.

[178] Sir John Froiſſart relates, that the king's favourite dog, named *Math*, forſook his maſter as ſoon as he ſaw him taken priſoner, and fawned upon the duke of Lancaſter. *Froiſſart, tom.* 4. *ch.* 110.

That

A.D. 1399. That learned and undaunted prelate, in a long and eloquent ſpeech, expoſed the iniquity and danger of the preſent proceedings, and vindicated the character of his unhappy ſovereign in many particulars, imputing the errors into which he had fallen rather to his want of experience, or to evil council, than to malice [179]. The only anſwer given to this ſpeech was, an order to the earl marſhal, from the duke of Lancaſter, to take the biſhop into cuſtody, and ſend him priſoner to the abbey of St. Alban's: a more unconſtitutional and arbitrary deed than any king Richard had ever done! After this there was an end to all debate. All the articles were ſuſtained as true; king Richard was ſolemnly depoſed; and a committee appointed to intimate that ſentence to the degraded monarch [180].

Acceſſion of Henry IV. The throne of England being thus declared empty, Henry duke of Lancaſter (though he was not the neareſt heir to the laſt poſſeſſor) aroſe from his ſeat, and (having with great appearance of devotion, invoked the name of Chriſt, and croſſed himſelf on the breaſt and forehead) claimed the crown in the following remarkable words,—"*In* "*the name of Fadher, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, I* "*Henry of Lancaſter, challenge this rewme of* "*Ynglonde, and the croune, with all the members,* "*and the apurtenances, als I that am deſcendit be* "*ryght lyne of the blode, cumyng fra the gude*

179 Hayward's Life of Henry IV. p. 101.
180 Walſing. p. 359. Otterbourne, p. 218.

"*lorde*

" *lorde king Henry Thirde, and throghe that rygt* A.D.1399.
" *that God of his grace hath ſent me, with helpe*
" *of my kyn, and of my frendes to recover it; the*
" *whiche rewme was in poynt to be ondone for de-*
" *faut of governance, and undoying of the gude*
" *lawes*[181]." This very artful and ambiguous ſpeech, which hinted at the two different titles of deſcent and conqueſt, was received with great applauſe; and the duke's claim, though all the world knew it to be ill-founded, was unanimouſly declared by parliament to be juſt. Upon this, the archbiſhop of Canterbury took Henry by the right hand, and conducted him towards the empty throne; and, with the aſſiſtance of the archbiſhop of York, placed him in it, amidſt the loud acclamations of the whole aſſembly. As ſoon as ſilence could be procured, the primate preached a very indifferent ſermon (if the hiſtorian hath not wronged him) from 1 Samuel, ix. 17. " Behold
" the man whom I ſpake to thee of: this ſame
" ſhall reign over my people." Sermon being ended, the new king apprehending that the hint at conqueſt in his former ſpeech might give ſome offence, ſtood up, and made the following declaration: " *Sires, I thank God, and zowe, ſpirituel*
" *and temporel, and all the eſtates of the lond,*
" *and do zowe to wyte, it es noght my will that no*
" *man thynk that be waye of conqueſt I wold diſ-*
" *herit any man of his heritage, franches, or other*
" *ryghts that hym aght to have, no put hym out of*

[181] Knyghton, col. 2757.

" *that*

A.D. 1399. "*that that he has, and has had by the gude lawes* "*and cuſtumes of the reawme: except thoſe perſons* "*that has ben agan the gude purpoſe, and the* "*commune profyt of the reawme*[182]." Thus ended the important buſineſs of this memorable day (September 30, A.D. 1399), in which one king was pulled down, and another exalted to the throne of England. The fatal conſequences of this revolution will appear in the firſt chapter of the fifth book of this work.

Death of Richard II.

Though the fate of the dethroned king doth not fall within the limits of our preſent period, it followed ſo ſoon after it, and is ſo intimately connected with it, that it can be no great impropriety to introduce it here, together with a very ſhort character of that unhappy prince. Richard did not long ſurvive his depoſition, though the exact time and manner of his death are not certainly known[183]. The moſt probable account is, that he was ſtarved to death in the caſtle of Pontefract in Yorkſhire, about the beginning of the year 1400[184].

Richard of Bourdeaux (ſo called from the place of his birth) was remarkably beautiful and handſome in his perſon, and doth not ſeem to have been naturally defective either in courage or underſtanding: for on ſome occaſions, particularly in the dangerous inſurrection of the commons, he

[182] Knyghton, col. 2758, 2759. [183] Froiſſart, t. 4. c. 119.
[184] Otterbourne, p. 229. Vita Richard. II. p. 162. Anglia Sacra, tom. 2. p. 365.

acted

acted with a degree of ſpirit and prudence ſuperior to his years. But his education was miſerably neglected, or rather he was intentionally corrupted and debauched by his three ambitious uncles, who, being deſirous of retaining the management of all affairs, encouraged him to ſpend his time in the company of diſſolute young people of both ſexes, in a continued courſe of feaſting and diſſipation. By this means he contracted a taſte for pomp and pleaſure, and a diſlike to buſineſs. The greateſt foible in the character of this unhappy prince, was an exceſſive fondneſs for, and unbounded liberality to his favourites, which enraged his uncles, particularly the duke of Glouceſter, and diſguſted ſuch of the nobility as did not partake of his bounty. He was an affectionate huſband, a generous maſter, and a faithful friend; and, if he had received a proper education, might have proved a great and good king. Richard was dethroned in the 23d year of his reign, and the 34th of his age, and never had any children. If any regard had been paid to the conſtitution or the rights of blood, he would have been ſucceeded by Edmund Mortimer earl of March, deſcended from Lionel duke of Clarence, third ſon of Edward III. and elder brother of John of Gaunt duke of Lancaſter. But in the tumult of faction which attended this revolution, that young nobleman's name and rights were hardly ever mentioned, though his father, Roger Mortimer earl of March, had been declared preſumptive heir of the crown, by act of parliament, A. D. 1385[185]. A.D. 1399.

[185] Parliament. Hiſt. vol. 1. p. 387, 388.

A.D.1371. History of Scotland.

DAVID II. king of Scotland, the ſon and ſucceſſor of the heroic Robert Bruce, died A. D. 1371; and was ſucceeded by his nephew Robert Stewart [186]. During the firſt years of this prince's reign, the borderers of both the Britiſh kingdoms made frequent incurſions into each others countries [187]. To put a ſtop to theſe predatory expeditions, which were very deſtructive, ſeveral meetings were held between commiſſioners appointed by both kings, who made ſhort truces, which were ill obſerved [188]. John of Gaunt, king of Caſtile and duke of Lancaſter, being at Berwick, A. D. 1381, negotiating one of theſe truces, when the great inſurrection of the commons (to whom he was obnoxious) broke out, he retired into Scotland, and was very hoſpitably entertained at Holyroodhouſe, till the inſurgents were diſperſed [189]. As ſoon as the three years truce which had been made at Berwick was expired, the war was renewed, and mutual invaſions took place. Two of the invaſions of Scotland by the Engliſh were very formidable; being made with powerful fleets, as well as great armies, they ſeemed to aim at conqueſt. The firſt of theſe invaſions, A. D. 1384, was conducted by the duke of Lancaſter, and the ſecond, A. D. 1385, by Richard II. in perſon. But they both terminated, as many others had done, in the devaſtation of the country near the border; and theſe devaſtations were retaliated

[186] Fordun, t. 2. p. 380, &c. in not.
[187] Buchan. Hiſt. l. 9. p. 168, &c.
[188] Rymeri Fœd. t. 7. p. 175. 183. 206. 245. 279.
[189] Id. ibid. p. 312. Buchan. p. 169.

by

by the Scots, aſſiſted by ſome French auxiliaries [190]. In one of theſe incurſions of the Scots into England, the famous battle of Otterburn was fought, A. D. 1388, with great valour on both ſides, in which Henry lord Percy, who commanded the Engliſh, was taken, and James earl of Douglas, who commanded the Scots was killed [191]. A.D. 1388.

Death, &c. of Robert II.

Robert II. finding himſelf unfit for the management of affairs, through age and bodily infirmities, conſtituted his ſecond ſon, Robert earl of Fife, governor of the kingdom, in a parliament held at Edinburgh, A. D. 1389 [192]. The governor, immediately after his elevation to that dignity, raiſed an army and made an incurſion into England; but the Engliſh avoiding an engagement, he plundered ſome part of the open country, and then returned home. About the ſame time ambaſſadors came to the court of Scotland, from the kings of France and England, to notify a truce for three years, which had been lately concluded between theſe two princes, and ſuch of their allies as acceded to it. The ambaſſadors applying to the governor, he referred them to the king his father, who acceded to the truce, which gave a check to the mutual depredations of the borderers for ſome time [193]. The king died 17th April A. D. 1390, in the twentieth year of his reign, and the ſeventy-fourth of his age. He was remarkably tall, of a cheerful

[190] Walſing. p. 316, 317. Fordun, t. 2. p. 401.
[191] Id. ibid. p. 406—414. [192] Id. ibid.
[193] Rymeri Fœd. t. 7. p. 675.

A.D.1388. and pleaſant countenance, and great affability of manners; but being of a mild pacific ſpirit, he had but little authority over ſome of his turbulent barons, who raiſed armies, and engaged in wars, without ſo much as aſking his conſent [194].

Marriages of Robert II. Robert II. when he was very young, married Elizabeth More, daughter of ſir Adam More, with whom he was within the prohibited degrees of conſanguinity or affinity, and on that account their marriage was for ſome time eſteemed unlawful, becauſe it had been celebrated without a papal diſpenſation. But that diſpenſation was obtained A. D. 1349, by which the legality of the marriage was completed [195]. By this lady, who died long before his acceſſion, he had three ſons, John earl of Carrick, Robert earl of Fife, and Alexander earl of Buchan. After the death of Elizabeth, he married the lady Euphemia, daughter of Hugh earl of Roſs, by whom he had two ſons, Walter earl of Athol, and David earl of Strathern. The miſtakes of many of our hiſtorians concerning the marriages of this prince, are fully detected in the diſſertion quoted below, and the legitimacy of his five ſons clearly eſtabliſhed [196].

Robert III. Robert II. was ſucceeded by his eldeſt ſon John, who was crowned at Scone, Auguſt 13, and immediately after, by the advice of his parliament, aſſumed the name of Robert III [197]. This prince,

[194] Fordun, t. 2 p. 383. [195] Id. ibid. l. 11. c. 13. p. 150.
[196] See *De nuptiis Roberti Seneſcalli Scotiæ atque Elizabethæ Moræ Diſſertatio*, printed at the end of the ſecond volume of the Edinburgh edition of Fordun. [197] Fordun, t. 2. p. 418.

before

before his coronation, took a ſolemn oath to obſerve the truce with England; and that truce being afterwards prolonged for ſeveral years, ſecured his kingdom from foreign enemies [198]. But its internal tranquillity was very much diſturbed by violent quarrels and deadly feuds between different clans and families. One of theſe feuds between two of the highland clans, which had been very bloody, and threatened the extirpation of them both, was determined by a ſolemn judicial combat between thirty of each clan, before the king and court, and a prodigious multitude of ſpectators, in a beautiful plain on the banks of the river Tay, near Perth, A. D. 1396. This combat, with ſwords only, without any defenſive armour, was fought with ſuch unrelenting fury, that nineteen on the one ſide were killed, and the remaining eleven dangerouſly wounded, while only one on the other ſide ſurvived, but unhurt [199]. In a parliament held at Scone, April 28, A. D. 1398, the king created his eldeſt ſon David, duke of Rothſay, and his brother Robert earl of Fife, who had ſtill the chief direction of all affairs, duke of Albany, which were the two firſt dukes in Scotland [200]. The truce between England and Scotland being terminated by the depoſition of Richard II. hoſtilities between the two kingdoms were renewed ſoon after the acceſſion of Henry IV. A.D. 1396.

[198] Rymeri Fœd. t. 7. p. 683. 725.
[199] Fordun, tom. 2. p. 420. Buchan. l. 10. c. 1.
[200] Fordun. tom. 2. p. 422.

A.D. 1398. But as the time of theſe hoſtilities, and of the other events of the reign of Robert III. is without the limits of our preſent period, the hiſtory of them will be more properly introduced in the firſt chapter of the fifth book of this work.

END OF THE SEVENTH VOLUME.

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